

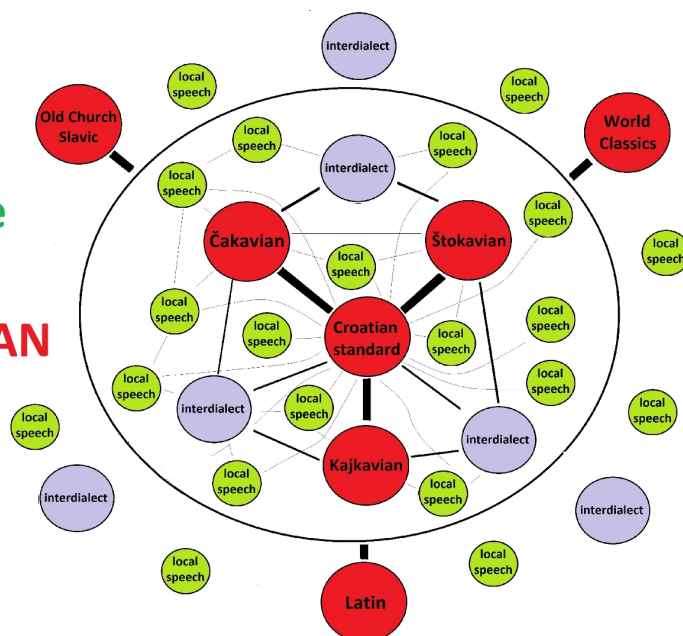
IDENTITIES of mutually intelligible languages: Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian and Montenegrin

PART 1

IDENTITIES of
mutually intelligible
languages

CROATIAN AND SERBIAN

LINGUISTICS in
South-East Europe



VIDEO AVAILABLE HERE:

1. YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O09HQ9hZPKE>
2. Facebook, <https://www.facebook.com/100071168561105/videos/581378993075649>
3. Archive.org, <https://archive.org/details/identities-of-mutually-intelligible-languages-croatian-and-serbian-v-2-usporedba-studeni-2021>

Kroatocentrik
Anonymous Consultant

Croatia, Zagreb, 2021
(few corrections are made in this version, February 2022)

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	3
FIVE CRITERIA METHODOLOGY	10
CROATIAN, SERBIAN AND GERMAN DIALECT SYSTEMS	12
FIRST CRITERION - MUTUAL INTELLIGIBILITY	18
SECOND CRITERION - THE SAME NAME	24
THIRD CRITERION - SAME LITERARY CORPUS	27
FOURTH CRITERION - CULTURAL UNITY	31
FIFTH CRITERION - STANDARDIZATION AT THE SAME PLACE AND AT THE SAME TIME	35
CONCLUSION	42
SOURCES	56

INTRODUCTION

On YouTube we can find several attractive videos in English in which Croatian and Serbian are called by a common name, Serbo-Croatian, or are considered the same language. In these videos, it all comes down to a superficial argument that is accurate. This argument is that speakers of the Croatian language and the Serbian language can communicate with their standard languages.



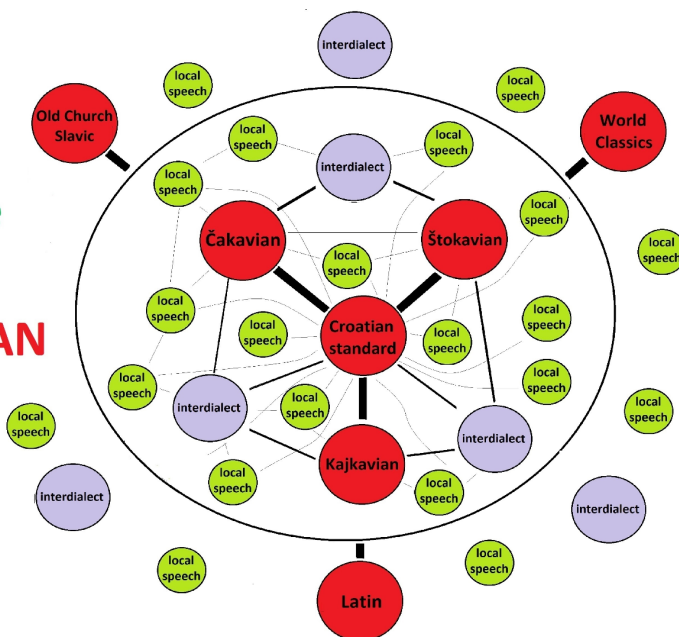
By getting acquainted with the content of this video, you will communicate easier with Serbs and Croats, and you will understand Southeast Europe easier. In this video we will explain how throughout history the Croatian language and Serbian language have come to the point that speakers of both languages can understand each other.

We will present arguments from which it follows that it is not the same language. We can initially say that the Croatian and Serbian languages do not have their common Shakespeare, or in other words their common literary corpora formed during their separate developments.

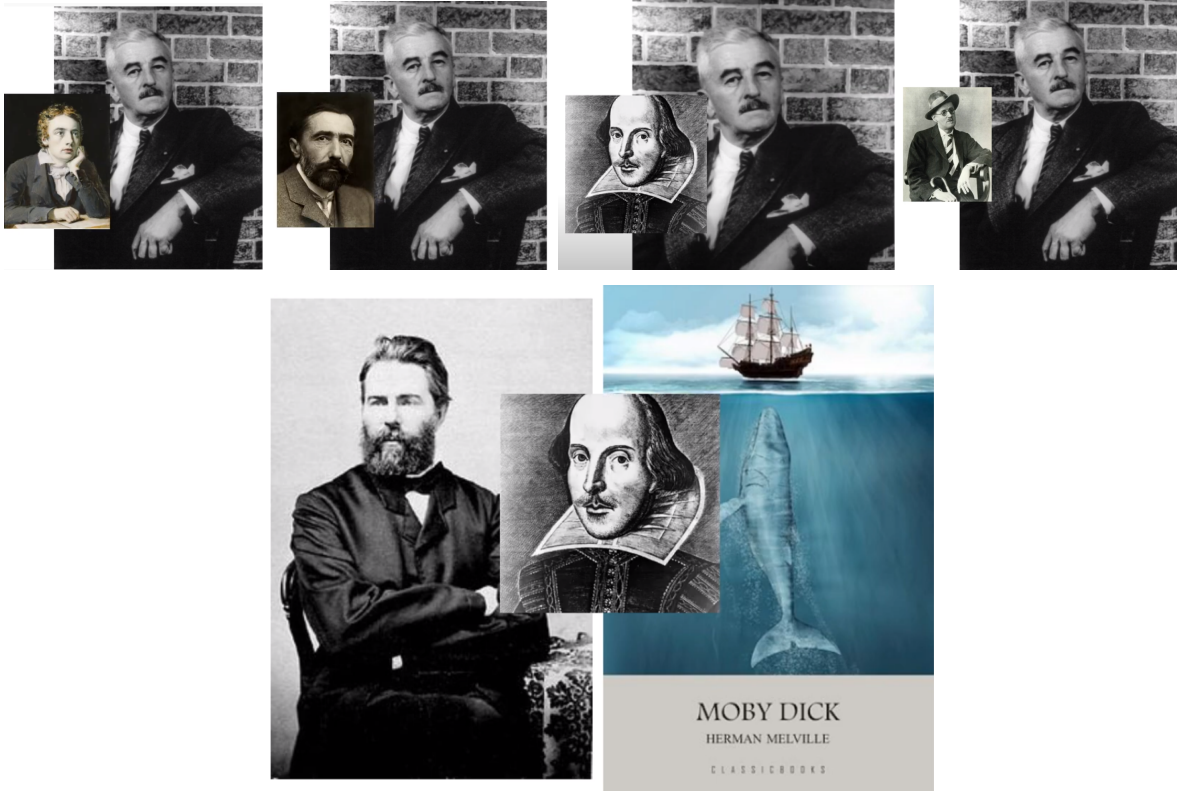
PART 1

IDENTITIES of mutually intelligible languages

CROATIAN AND SERBIAN LINGUISTICS in South-East Europe



Clear indicator of Croatian cultural-linguistic continuity is evident in the case of literary canon, as well as in expert editions of various authors. In the case of American English, it is impossible to even imagine American literature without English, and particularly British English influences. Herman Melville's novel "Moby Dick" is strongly influenced by the author's reading of Shakespeare; also, William Faulkner's opus exhibits strong influences of Shakespeare, as well as British authors Keats, Joseph Conrad and James Joyce.



In the same vein, Croatian literature from Romanticism to postModernism is unimaginable without Croatian language heritage from the Renaissance to Baroque and Classicism-lexically, stylistically, phraseological: the indicator of language and cultural continuity, and something completely absent in Serbian language literature. The 19th century Croatian poet, philologist and politician Ivan Mažuranić had supplemented and written two missing chapters from the Baroque master Ivan Gundulić's poem "Osman". Miroslav Krleža's 20th century masterpiece "Ballads of Petrica Kerempuh" is based, among other sources, on the Croatian lexicographer Belostenec's 18th century dictionary.



Voluminous and linguistically brilliant and inventive novel “Marin”, authored by Croatian poet, novelist and critic Luko Paljetak, depicting the life of the greatest Croatian Renaissance writer Marin Držić from Ragusa, directly incorporates Držić’s Renaissance idioms and phraseology in the work published in the 21st century.



Croatian philologists have, as we can see on the screen, within Croatian, formerly Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, begun in the 1870s to issue critical editions of medieval, Renaissance, Baroque and Classicist authors writing in all Croatian dialects, in the special series named: Old Croatian authors, which contained texts from the 1400s to the early

1800s. Needless to say, there was not a similar endeavor among Serbs, except in a few marginal cases of Serbian literary historians explicitly trying to appropriate Croatian, and especially Ragusan Renaissance and Baroque literary heritage.



It is absurd to even think that culturally Eastern Orthodox nation like Serbs could possess, in their language canon, eminently Western literature periods like Renaissance and Baroque. Marin Držić's drama was performed, for the first time in Serbia, by Croatian theater from the northern Serbian province of Vojvodina, only in 1946.



Summarily- Croatian literature and culture in general, from Romanticism to post-Modernism, have absorbed earlier, medieval, Renaissance, Baroque and Classicist Croatian language heritage thematically, as well as in lexicon, phraseology, higher syntax and stylistics, while in the case of Serbian language literature there is no language and cultural continuity with these periods – only farcical attempts of cultural appropriation.

Serbs translate their literature from the 13th until the 17th century, and from the 18th century, to modern Serbian language. Croats exceptionally apply this practice in case when text is hard to understand, and in Serbia this is the rule. So in the Serbian case Serbian public is

not familiar how the Serbian language looked like during five centuries. We can see on this picture this translated books to modern Serbian language.



This problem concerning the Croatian language and Serbian language is not harmless. Due to the wrong assumption that these two different languages are the same language and on the wrong assumption that Croats and Serbs are the same people with different names, a controversial Yugoslav ideology emerged. It was the idea of the Austro-Hungarian Croats with the support of the Catholic Church and even, sometimes, the Montenegrins. Then there had happened intensification of tensions and eruption of violence in the first Yugoslavia, which was created in the 1918, then in the Second World War and during the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the Croatian Homeland War in the 90s. This Croatian Yugoslav ideology should be distinguished from the Greater Serbia ideology which has originated in the 19th century.



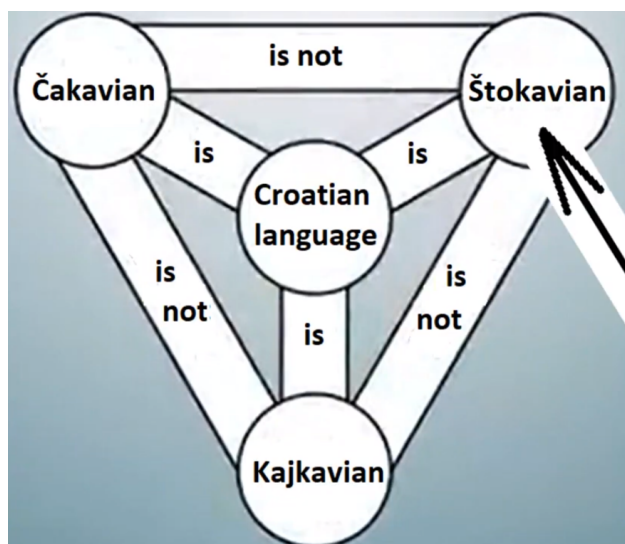
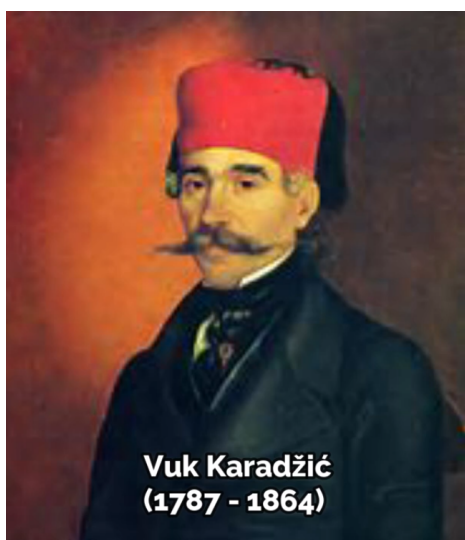


In both Yugoslavias, the Croatian language and Serbian language issue caused permanent tensions, and this situation remained even when Serbia and Croatia became independent states. The Greater Serbia ideology, which is based on the assumption that these two languages are the same language; and, according to this para-linguistic criterion, Greater Serbia ideology and politics wants to conquer Croatian and Bosniak territories.

During the last war of the 1990s, Serbs were destroying the Croatian cultural heritage they claimed was Serbian, following the principle that one of the Croatian dialects, namely Štokavian, was basically Serbian, so that Croats who spoke that dialect were Serbs and the area where they lived, was ethnically Serbian area and should be under Serbian rule.













Among Serbs this idea was represented by Vuk Karadžić in the 19th century, on the principle that if all Serbs speak Štokavian, then all speakers who speak Štokavian are Serbs, and the entire Štokavian dialect is the Serbian language ethnic area. It would be similar to say if Danish is a Germanic language, then all Germanic languages are essentially - Danish.



On the basis of this idea in the 21st century, a slightly adjusted idea is represented by Serbian linguist Slobodan Remetić who states that Croatian language and Serbian language are linguistically one language, and by that he means Serbian, while all others, meaning Croatian, Bosnian and eventually Montenegrin are political languages. Remetić has conveniently forgotten that modern Croatian language possesses completely understandable and typologically-structurally almost the same texts from the late 15th century, while Serbian language does not have anything similar before the 19th century. If we analyze his thesis, the inevitable conclusion is that a child is older than a great-grandfather.



UNDERSTANDABLE WITH MODERN STANDARDS		NOT-UNDERSTANDABLE SERBIAN WITH MODERN STANDARDS	
CROATIAN	 Ivan Mažuranić 1846	SERBIAN	 Vuk Karadžić 1818
	 Andrija Kačić Miošić 1756		Russian redaction of Old Church Slavonic  1790 Jovan Rajič
	 Bartol Kašić 1621	Slaveno Serbian  1783 Dositej Obradović	
	 Marko Marulić 1501	Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic  1349 Dušan's Code  1169 - 1236 Saint Sava	
	 Croatian Prayer Book 1380 - 1400		

FIVE CRITERIA METHODOLOGY

Comparing the case with Croatian and Serbian language, we will also compare this case with American English and British English, as well as with Hindi and Urdu.

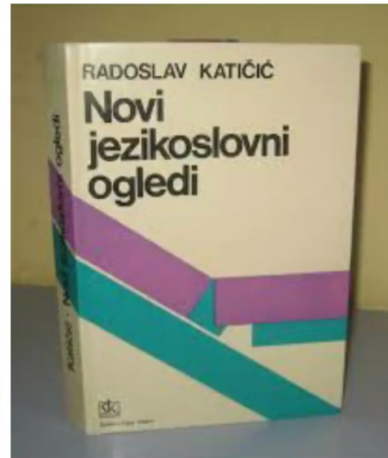
We will use these five criteria for analysis. With these criteria, we will analyze whether American English and British English are the same language, as well as whether Hindi and Urdu are the same language. Frames with three different colors mean that language pairs are compared, the first two pairs are Croatian and Serbian, the second two pairs are American with British English, and the third two pairs are Hindi and Urdu. In the video we will show the historical development of the Croatian language and the historical development of the Serbian language.

Polycentric standard languages such as English, French, German, Spanish and so on, meet five criteria:

- First, the speakers understand each other.
- Second, language has the same name throughout history used by the authors in that language.
- Third, the language is based on the same written corpus.
- Fourth, language has the same cultural-communication community throughout history, and the awareness of speakers that they speak the same national language, an abbreviated- the same cultural-identity community.
- Fifth, they are essentially standardized at the same place and in the same time.

	Croatian	Serbian	American English	British English	Hindi	Urdu
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavonian, Slaveno-Serbian	English		?	
the same name	✗		✓		?	
communication intelligibility	✓		✓		✓	
the same written corpus	✗		✓		?	
identity and cultural unity	✗		✓		✗	
standardization at the same place and in the same time	✗		✓		✗	

In "New Linguistic Essays", Croatian linguist Radoslav Katičić gave three criteria for distinguishing close languages: genetic-genealogical; typological-structural and value based. But since the value based criterium was difficult to explain, it has been criticized. It would be more precise to say culturally-identitarian or ethnically-cultural for the value based criterion.



genetic-genealogical

typological-structural

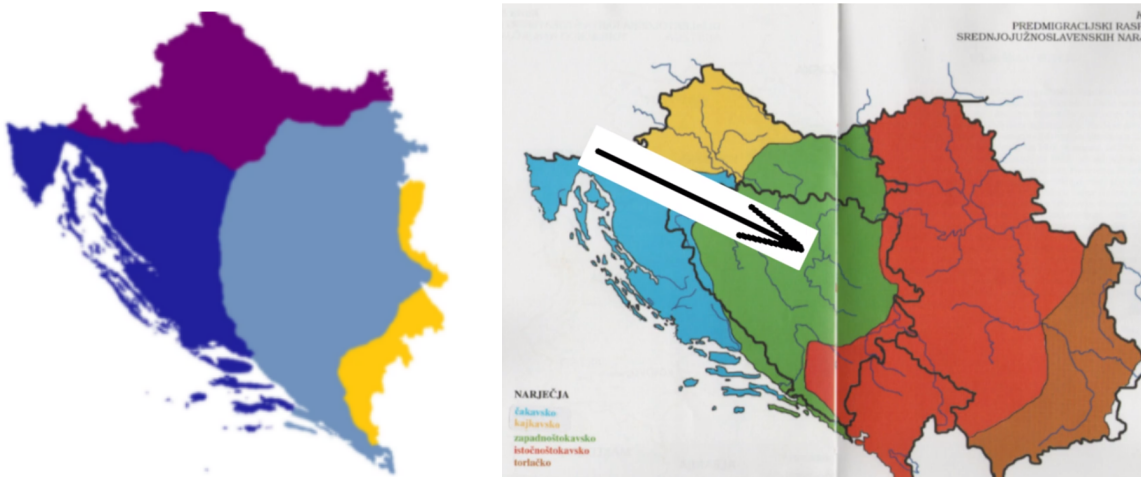
value based

value based => culturally-identitarian
or ethnically-cultural



CROATIAN, SERBIAN AND GERMAN DIALECT SYSTEMS

On this figure we can see the dialectal distribution of Croatian dialects before Ottoman occupation of Croatian and Bosnian territory west of the river Drina. Croatian is in the 14th to 15th centuries period a set of dialects of Kajkavian, this purple area on the North, Čakavian, that dark blue area near the Adriatic Sea, while Western Štokavian is this lighter blue area, or those derived from Western Štokavian which is in this picture represented as the green area.



Serbian linguist Pavle Ivić gave a similar dialectal distribution in which we can see Eastern Štokavian and Western Štokavian. Zones three and four belong to the Western Štokavian dialect; zones five and six to the Eastern Štokavian, and, although he uses different terminology, in Ivić's classification, the segment seven is proto-Torlak.



In this figure red area is East Štokavian, and brown area is Torlak dialect, which are Serbian dialects.



Ottoman occupation or conquest disturbed this dialectal distribution. For the purpose of this video we can give the following short and approximate picture of dialectal distribution, following the interplay and stabilization in the period from the early 16th century to the late 18th century, when most of the contemporary dialects were, generally, structurally stabilized while retaining their central pre-Ottoman dialectal characteristics- although, of course, this is a never ending continuous process if we consider all isoglosses and structural indicators. Štokavian is divided into two groups, Old Štokavian and New or neo-Štokavian, which, in the case of ethnically mixed dialects, reflect their Western or Eastern origin. These are modern Štokavian dialects. One should add that in a few cases there are marginal speakers of different ethnicities in some of these dialects, but this does not alter the general picture.





In the first group we have old Štokavian group which comprises:

- Slavonian, which is mostly Ikavian (and belongs to Croats);
- old Western Štokavian which is Ijekavian (it belongs to Bosniaks and Croats);
- old Štokavian which is Ekavian (it belongs to Serbs);
- old Eastern Štokavian which is Ijekavian (it belongs to Montenegrins, Serbs and Bosniaks).

The second group is neo-Štokavian:

- Štokavian Ikavian (belongs to Croats and Bosniaks);
- new Štokavian Ekavian (belongs to Serbs);
- and new Štokavian which is Ijekavian (and it belongs to Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats and Bosniaks).

ŠTOKAVIAN

Old Štokavian

Slavonian (hr)

Western (hr, bs)

Ekavian (sr)

Eastern (hr, bs, me, sr)

Neo-Štokavian

Ikavian (hr, bs)

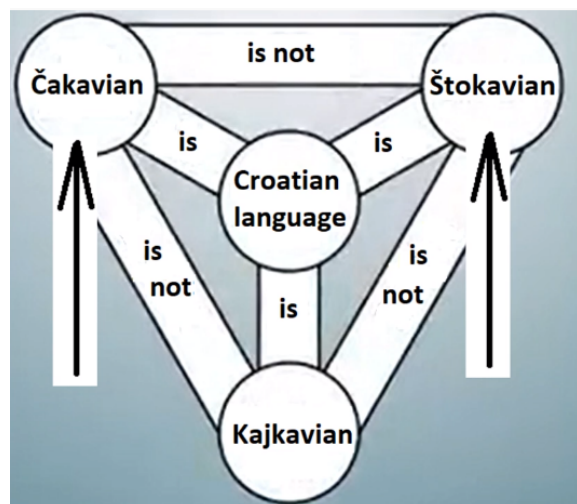
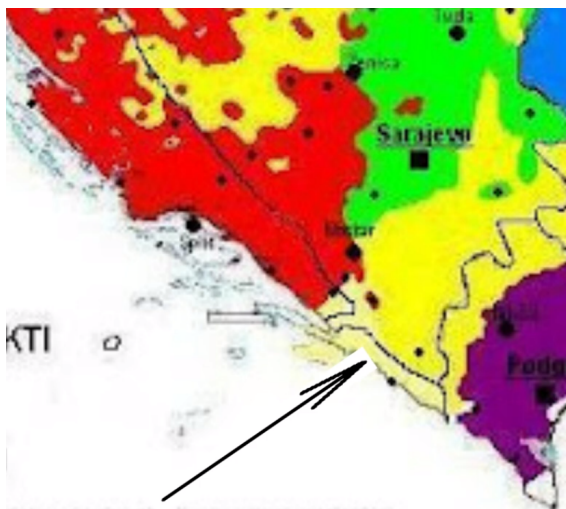
Ekavian (sr)

Ijekavian (hr, bs, me, sr)



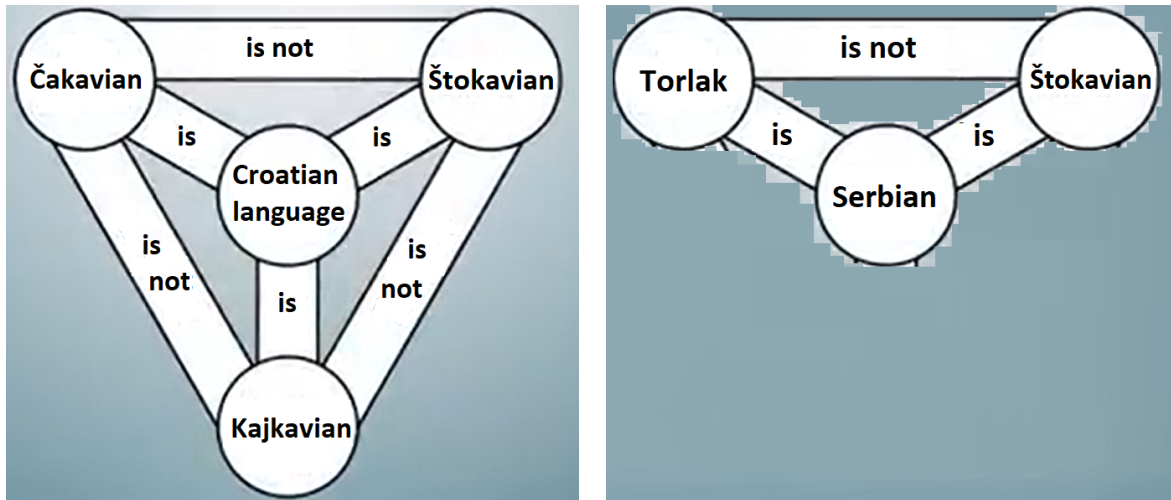
Or, in the case where Croatian Ragusan and the Bay of Kotor dialects are lumped together with Serbian and Montenegrin neo-Štokavian of Eastern origin, this area on the figure.

In the case of Dubrovnik, there are two things to be mentioned: in poetry, the language of Dubrovnik Renaissance literature was mostly a Štokavian-Čakavian mixture; then, from the 17th century onwards, especially in prose, this regional Croatian dialect mostly abandoned its Čakavian features in the written corpus, becoming more clearly a Western Štokavian Ijekavian dialect.



Another Croatian Štokavian Ijekavian dialect, that belonged to Franciscan authors in Central and Eastern Bosnia and preserved in numerous religious works from the early 17th to the late 18th centuries -and spoken also by Bosnian Muslims - had never interfered with Čakavian, although some structural features have a rather strong similarity with Čakavian,

which led many philologists to the wrong conclusion that islands of Čakavian had been distributed even to the Drina river region.



In the chapter "Language as a Code and Language as a Social Reality" of that book, on pages 47th and 48th, for Western Germanic languages, we have a different number of languages if different criteria are applied:

- two languages if we look at them genetically (High and Low German);
- four languages if we count them typologically-structurally (Dutch, High and Low German, Yiddish); and
- three languages (Dutch, German and Yiddish) if we classify them according to the cultural-identitarian criterion.












In this video, accepting Katičić's languages classification criteria, we further enumerate and analyze aspects of Katičić's value-based, or, better, cultural-identitarian criterion. We will show how various segments describing and structuring the cultural-identitarian criterion, can be presented to the wider audience.

FIRST CRITERION - MUTUAL INTELLIGIBILITY

Mutual intelligibility criterium is not that relevant, since this can change due to interventions in standard languages. Also mutual intelligibility can not be projected to the history for the Croatian and Serbian case, since Serbian literature before the 19th century can not be understood neither with Croatian and neither with Serbian standard languages knowledge, while Croatian literature can be understood. So this criterion is colored red.

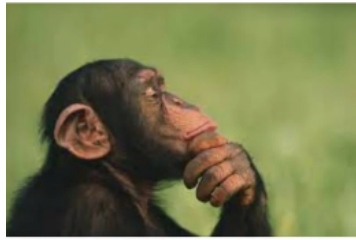
Croatian and Serbian are basically mutually intelligible languages, such as Hindi and Urdu. Therefore, we can put positive mark according to this criterion.

<u>UNDERSTANDABLE WITH MODERN STANDARDS</u>	<u>NOT-UNDERSTANDABLE SERBIAN WITH MODERN STANDARDS</u>	
<div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; gap: 10px;">  <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>Ivan Mažuranić</p> <p>1846</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; gap: 10px; margin-top: 10px;">  <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>Andrija Kačić Miošić</p> <p>1756</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; gap: 10px; margin-top: 10px;">  <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>Bartol Kašić</p> <p>1621</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; gap: 10px; margin-top: 10px;">  <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>Marko Marulić</p> <p>1501</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; gap: 10px; margin-top: 10px;">  <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>Croatian Prayer Book</p> <p>1380 - 1400</p> </div> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center; margin-top: 20px;"> <p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg); font-weight: bold; color: blue;">CROATIAN</p> <p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg); font-weight: bold; color: blue;">SERBIAN</p> </div>	<div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg); font-weight: bold; color: blue;">Russian redaction of Old Church Slavonic</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">1790</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Jovan Rajič</p> </div>	<div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg); font-weight: bold; color: blue;">Slaveno Serbian</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">1783</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Dositej Obradović</p> </div>
	<div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg); font-weight: bold; color: blue;">Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">1349</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Dušan's Code</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">1169 - 1236</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Saint Sava</p> </div>	

The number or percentage of differences between modern standard of Croatian language and modern standard of Serbian language is not something decisive, nor important- it is language individuality, cultural identity, continuity and historicity that matter- to put it poetically, the genius of a language- and while modern linguists generally don't occupy themselves with such matters, there have been a few quantitative analyses in past few decades, mostly at the graduate level of study and based on modern language corpora.

Having in mind that percentages of anything should be considered in the context- for instance, genetically, the difference between chimpanzees and modern humans their genomes is 1.2%, chimpanzees and humans being 98.8% genetically identical.

98.8%



A graduate study performed in 2013 by methods of quantitative mathematical linguistics gives results as follows: The corpus sample has 787,278 occurrences and shows a difference of 16%, while the sample of texts has 3,437 occurrences and shows a difference of 12%. Given this, but also the fact that differences at syntax level, accentual differences and phraseology are not included in the analysis, it should be assumed that the differences are probably around 20%. Based on this analysis, slightly more than 50% of the differences were discovered at the morphological level, and the following are the most numerous lexical ones with 30%. Differences are the smallest at phonological, with about 8% and word-formation level with about 6%. Syntactic and spelling differences have not been investigated.

In addition, most Slavic languages are mutually intelligible to a rather high degree, as shown in the following video which plays with the notion of InterSlavic "language" so that obsessive insistence on the sole intelligibility is not some central, decisive element. You can test if you have some Slavic friends if they understand this language on this video. Important persons for this interSlavic language are Vojtěch Merunka and Jan van Steenberg.

InterSlavic language - Medžuslovjansky jezyk

Inter-Slavic # 1
InterSlavic Language | Will Bulgarian, Polish and Croatian understand a CONSTRUCTED LANGUAGE? #1
1.1 mil. pogleda · prije 2 godine

Medžuslovjansky jezyk
The Story of Dracula - Večevod II
1.8 mil. pogleda · prije 1 mjesec

The Story of Vlad Dracula - part II InterSlavic | Povest o Drakuli-večevodě Medžuslovjansky
1.8 mil. pogleda · prije 1 mjesec

Medislovanština na internetu | Medžuslovjansky jezyk v Internetu
4.2 mil. pogleda · prije 10 mjeseci

InterSlavic: How A Made-Up Slavic Language Made It To The Big Screen
103 mil. pogleda · prije 1 godina

Vojtech Merunka and Jan van Steenberg

American English and British English as variants of the English language are mutually intelligible, so let's put that positive mark here.

There has never been a common language culture and heritage for the Croatian and Serbian language. The parallel with Hindi and Urdu refers to the dialectal basis of the standard languages: in the case of the Indo-Pakistani languages it was the Khariboli dialect; in the case of Croatian, Bosnian and Serbian, it was the neo-Štokavian dialect. But it is a dialectal basis, not all standard language with its variety of functional styles, grammar, vocabulary and so on. In addition, only Croatian has Čakavian, Štokavian and Kajkavian as a system of dialects; Serbian and Bosnian do not have these dialects. There is a mutual intelligibility, and core grammar and vocabulary; only, there was never a single language (Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian) that allegedly once existed or disintegrated. When you have language corpora of written texts dating back 1000 years, and they unmistakably belong to either the Croatian or Serbian language (or in the case of Bosnian, 500 years) - then you have never had a single language.

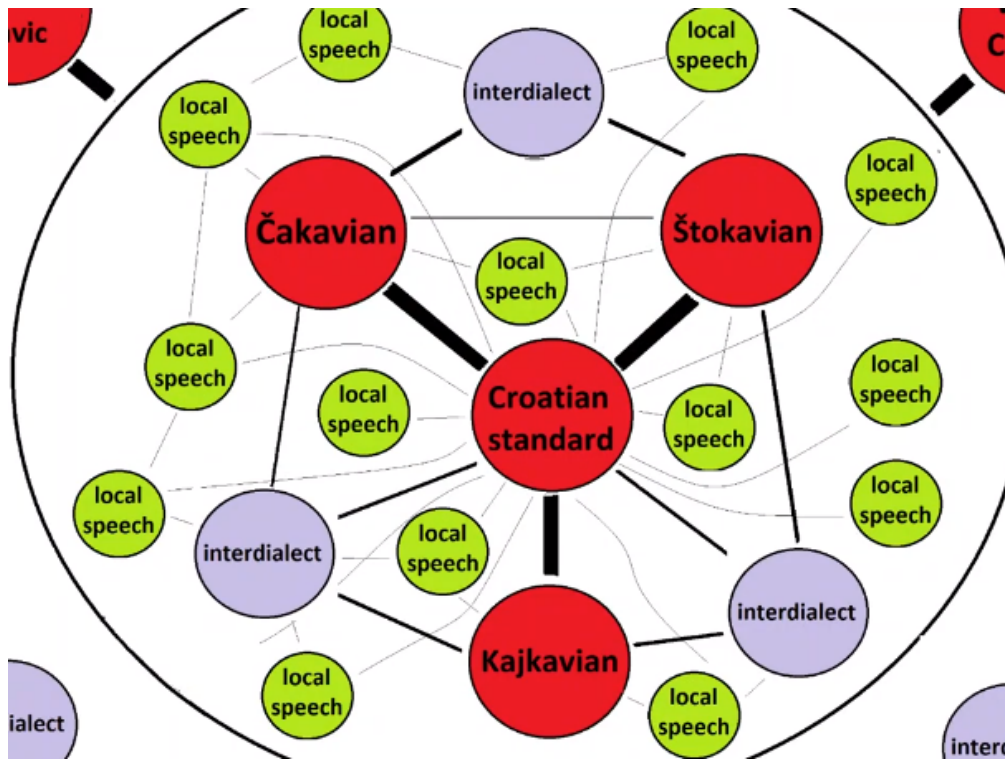
KHARIBOLI

Urdu **Hindi**
(the 18th century) **(the 19th century)**

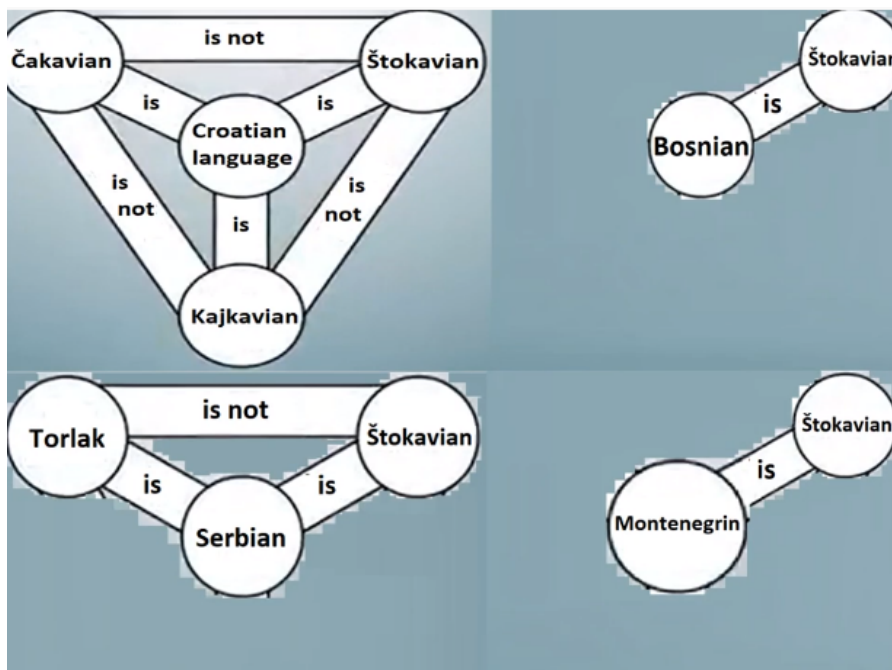
NEO-ŠTOKAVIAN

Croatian **Bosnian** **Serbian**

Languages can be seen as dialects systems and as standard languages, with the older name literary language - if they have a written culture. Bosnian, Montenegrin, Croatian and Serbian languages are typologically and structurally different as dialectal systems, but to a lesser extent this refers to the dialectal basis of standard languages. A distinction must be made between the system of dialects and speech, and the national standard language. This can be seen here for the Croatian language.



Croatian, Montenegrin, Serbian and Bosnian are typologically and structurally completely different as systems, whether one looks at which dialects and speeches they include; as standard languages they are typologically-structurally also different, but to a lesser extent, since their dialectal basis is neo-Štokavian, and therefore closeness in grammatical description follows.



However, this description is not identical for these languages either, since Croatian, especially in the fields of orthography or orthoepy, morphology, word formation, vocabulary, phraseology, syntax and stylistics, grew out of the western neo-Štokavian dialects by interweaving with Čakavian and Kajkavian, and it within the Western civilization circle

profiled its own separate grammatical description - which was partly disturbed by Croatian neo-grammarians or Croatian Vukovians, but their grammatical normative solutions were only partially accepted, and that on the line of historical development of Croatian - while the Serbian language is based on eastern neo-Štokavian dialects, with the minor influence of Torlak in the standard language.

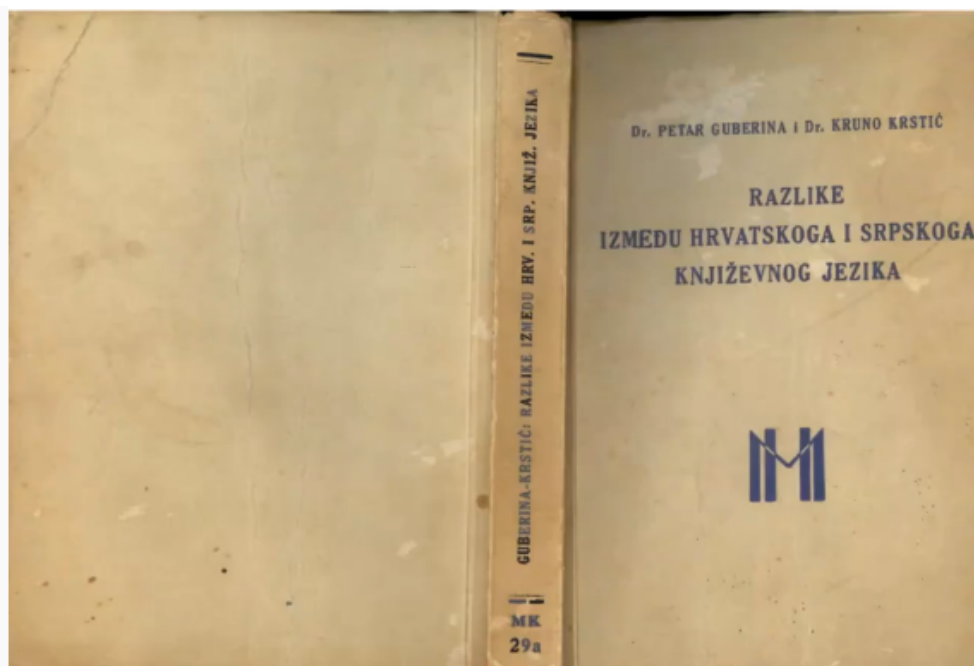
typologically-structurally

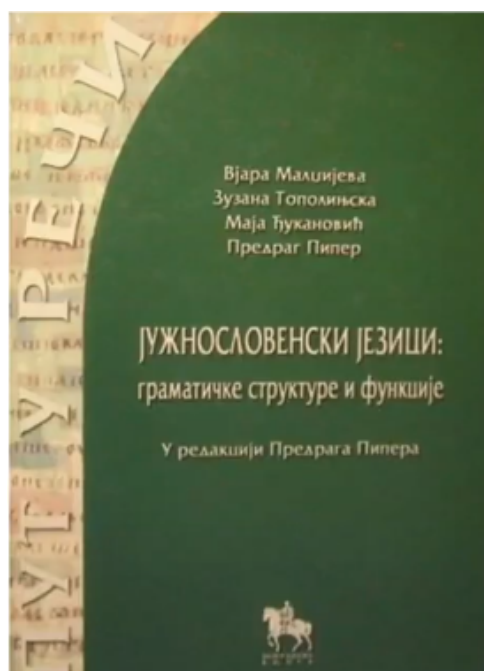
Croatian as system of dialects:
Čakavian • Kajkavian • Western Štokavian

Serbian as system of dialects:
Eastern Štokavian • Torlak

Bosnian as system of dialects:
mostly Western Štokavian •
marginally Eastern Štokavian

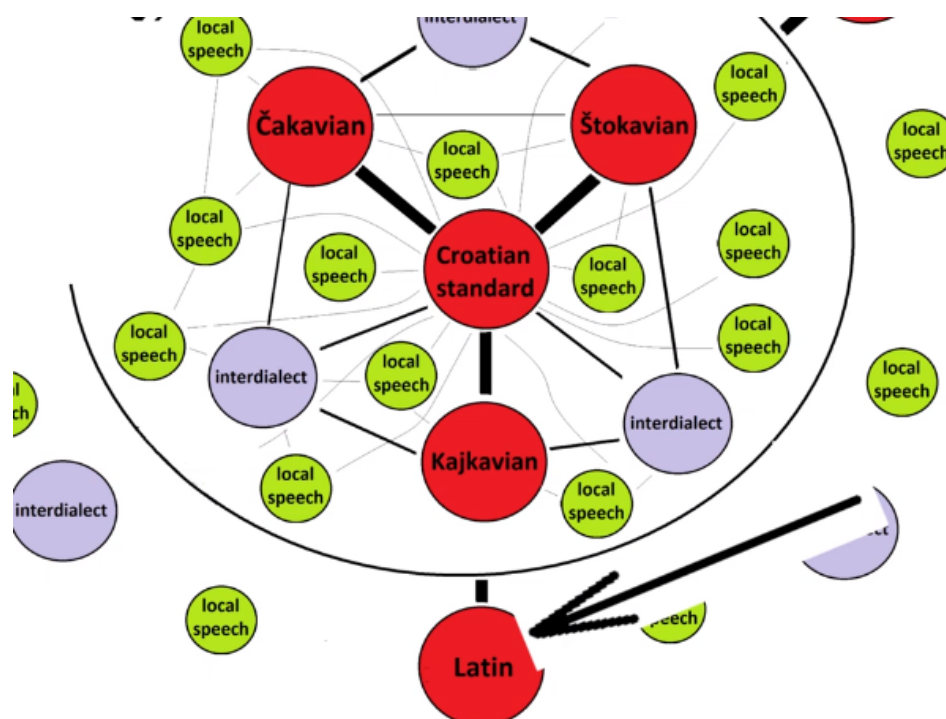
The description of grammatical differences was "popular" at the time of clearer differentiation of Croatian and Serbian, as well as the struggle for international recognition of the language: for example in Guberina and Krstić's book "Differences between Croatian and Serbian literary language" from 1940, Dalibor Brozović "Grammatical aspects of the Croatian language" from 1996, and from the Greater Serbian point of view in the book Piper's book "South Slavic Languages: Grammatical Structures and Functions" from 2009, but over time this topic has disappeared or is disappearing from the grammaticology of those languages.

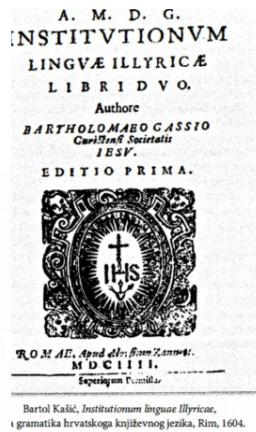




The Croatian language, as a system of dialects, consists of Kajkavian, Čakavian and Western Štokavian dialects; Serbian Eastern Štokavian and Torlak; Bosnian mostly Western Štokavian and somewhat Eastern Štokavian.

Croatian language standardization occurred within the Western cultural zone and was influenced by the Latin language grammaticology, the first Croatian grammar from 1604 having been created under the strong influence of Latin and the five-languages dictionary of the Croatian language from 1595 with Latin entries in the first column. We can see the Croatian language system in this picture, with the indicated Latin language influence.





Those who try to apply the socio-linguistic theory of pluri-centric or polycentric languages to these languages fail because not all of the above five criteria are met:

- First of all, we have already seen that Serbian and Croatian speakers understand each other, so there is a positive mark, as well as for English speakers, and the same goes for Hindi and Urdu speakers.
- Second, for a language to be polycentric you must have the same name.

SECOND CRITERION - THE SAME NAME

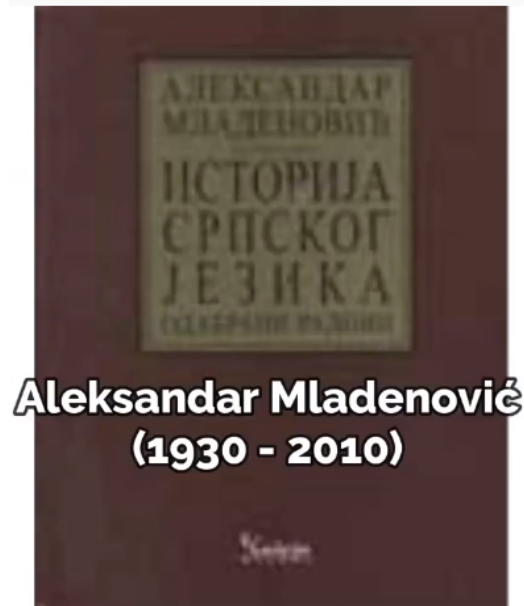
Historically, Croatian was called mainly Croatian, Illyrian and Slovin (plus regional names such as Slavonian, Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ..).

	Croatian	Serbian	American English	British English	Hindi	Urdu
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavenian, Slaveno-Serbian	English			?
the same name	←					
communication intelligibility	<p>Croatian, Illyrian, Slovin (regional: Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian,...)</p> <p>hrvatskim, ilirskim i slovinskim (regionalna: dubrovački, bosanski, dalmatinski,...)</p>					
the same written corpus						
identity and cultural unity						
standardization at the same place and in the same time						

In contrast, the Serbian language was called Serbian, Slavic, Slaveno Serbian and Serbo Slavenian. In the Serbian case, there are several examples of the language being called Illyrian, and Church Slavonic form Illyricheski, but these were several works from the late 17th and early 18th centuries influenced by the cultural policy of the Vienna offices, and soon disappeared as an imposed name from Serbian language practice. This is obviously not the case with variants of English, German, French ...

	Croatian	Serbian	American English	British English	Hindi	Urdu
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavenian, Slaveno-Serbian	English			?
the same name	←					
communication intelligibility	<p>Serbian, Slavic, Slaveno-Serbian and Serbo-Slavenian</p> <p>srpski, slavenski, slaveno-srpski i srpsko-slavenski</p>					
the same written corpus						
identity and cultural unity						
standardization at the same place and in the same time						

Lets quote the prominent historian of the Serbian language Aleksandar Mladenović, “the name “Serbian language”, which would terminologically refer to either the vernacular or the literary language of Serbs “appears in the Serbian heritage” judging by our current vocabulary material, quite late: only from the end of the seventeenth century”. Only one older isolated confirmation of that name from 1374 was found, which means “Serbian church and literary language”. To the extent that the ancestors of today's Serbs needed to name their literary language, they used the name Slavic in the spirit of the Church Slavonic tradition.



According to this criterion, two variants of the English language will receive a positive mark because there is a common name English, and for Croatian and Serbian we will put a negative mark for this criterion because as we have seen there is no common name for Croatian and Serbian.

Hindi and Urdu originated in India, some parts of which have historically been associated with the name Hindustan. For Urdu and Hindi, the British administration promoted the name Hindustani, but it never came to life among the native speakers as the dominant name for the literary language, nor was it part of their cultural-historical tradition. From the 13th to the 18th century, the popular names Hindustani, Hindi, Hindavi ... were used in everyday speech, but there is no book or larger text in which the language would be called, systematically, Hindustani or any common name for Muslim and Hindu writers, whichever script they wrote in and whatever dictionary and grammatical system they used. As in the Croatian and Serbian cases, as a literary and written language in the pre-standard period, the language based on the Khariboli dialect did not have a common name for either the Muslim or the Hindu ethnic-cultural community. The only important difference is that in the vernacular the name Hindavi and Hindustani was used, and sometimes Khariboli- while in the case of Croatian and Serbian this was not the case either, because Štokavian, as a concept, appeared only in the mid 19th century and after. So- as a self-reference for language in the written works of the authors themselves, Muslims and Hindus, there is no common umbrella concept. Therefore, a question mark can be placed for the common term Hindi and Urdu.

	Croatian	Serbian	American English	British English	Hindi	Urdu
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavonian Slaveno-Serbian	English			?
the same name	⊗		✓			
communication intelligibility						
the same written corpus						
identity and cultural unity						
standardization at the same place and in the same time						

**Hindustani, Hindi, Hindavi
(the 13th to the 18th century)**

For centuries, there has been no common name for the Croatian language and Serbian language, nor is there a common name both Serbs and Croats would be willing to accept. So here we put a negative mark because there is no common name for it. In speech and text, during the standardization of Croatian and Serbian in the nineteenth century, these languages were also called traditional pre-national and national names (Illyrian, Croatian, Serbian), and two-named names (Croatian or Serbian, Serbo-Croatian, Croato-Serbian), which originates from the ideologues of early Slavic studies that was accepted by various European philologies (German, Italian, British, Russian, French ...), and insisted on them despite the fact that this two-named name was not accepted in Serbian philology until the 1918, and in Croatian very rarely, with few exceptions among philologists of Serbo-Croatian orientation, while among authors, historians, journalists, scientists, most linguists and various other cultural figures - never. We will later come back to the languages names.

	Croatian	Serbian	American English	British English	Hindi	Urdu
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavonian Slaveno-Serbian	English			?
the same name	⊗		✓			?
communication intelligibility	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
the same written corpus						
identity and cultural unity						
standardization at the same place and in the same time						

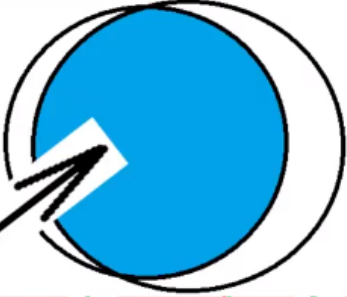
**Croatian or Serbian,
Serbo-Croatian,
Croato-Serbian**

**hrvatski ili srpski
srpsko-hrvatski
hrvatsko-srpski**

THIRD CRITERION - SAME LITERARY CORPUS

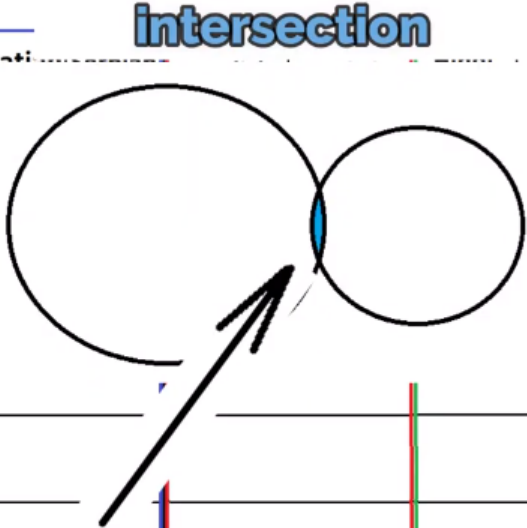
Now, let's go to the third criterion: to have a polycentric language you have to have the same literary corpus, at least at the beginning and for most of written history.

	Croatian	Serbian	Urdu
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavonian, Slaveno-Serbian	
the same name	✗		
communication intelligibility	✓		
the same written corpus			
identity and cultural unity			
standardization at the same place and in the same time			



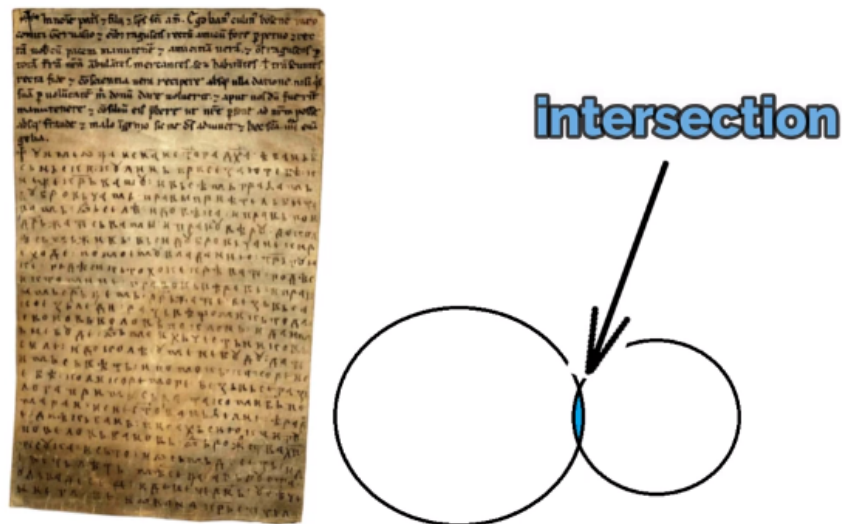
German and Dutch have common texts from the beginning, for example in the 12th and 13th centuries, but this is a negligible part of their common corpus.

	Croatian	Serbian	Urdu
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyri C (Ragu Dali		
the same name			
communication intelligibility			
the same written corpus			
identity and cultural unity			
standardization at the same place and in the same time			

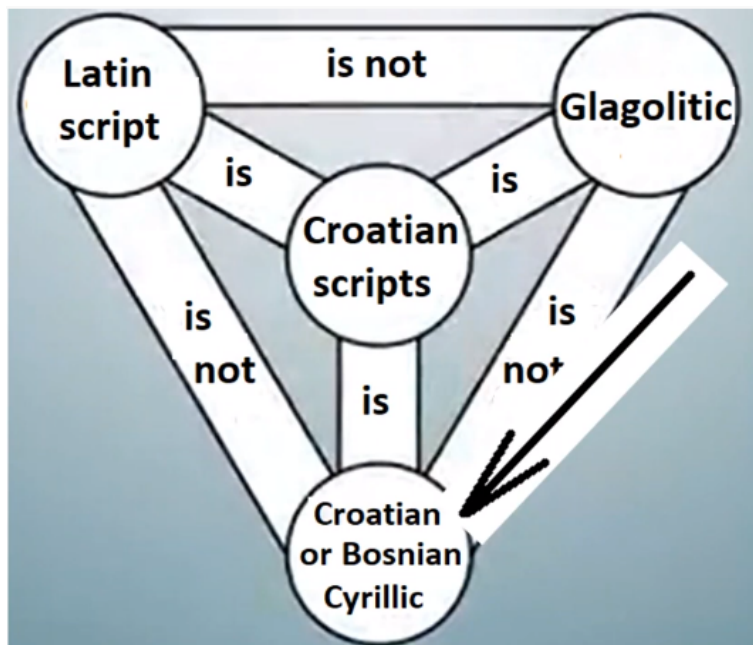


In the case of Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian, the "common" could be the Charter of Kulin Ban from 1189 and a smaller number of short texts from the Cyrillic Ragusan office mentioned by the Croatian linguist Mario Grčević, from the 13th to the 15th century, which is again a negligible part of the total corpus. Together they could be not only part of the texts from the Ragusan office, but also part of the charters and letters of the old Bosnian state, and after its collapse, part of the correspondence of Ottoman local rulers and military

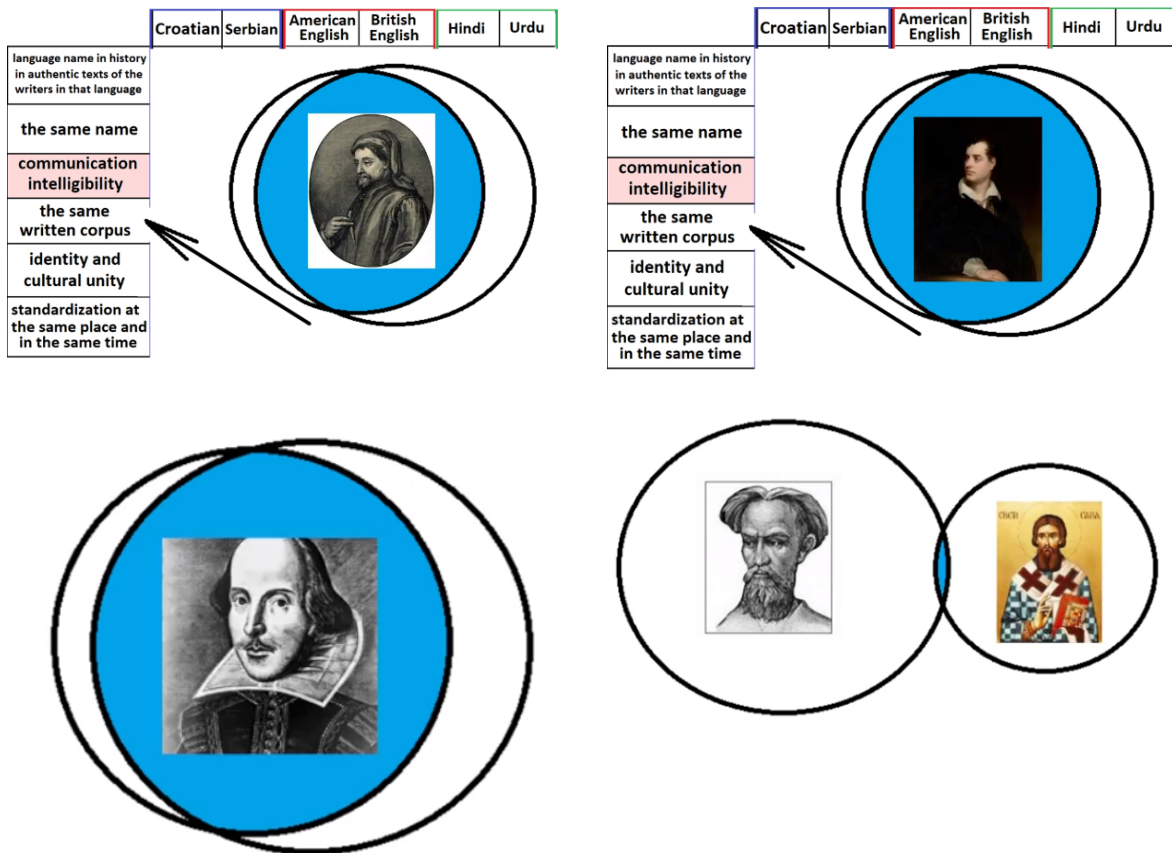
commanders with the Ragusan officials and some Christian military commanders from the 15th to the 18th century.



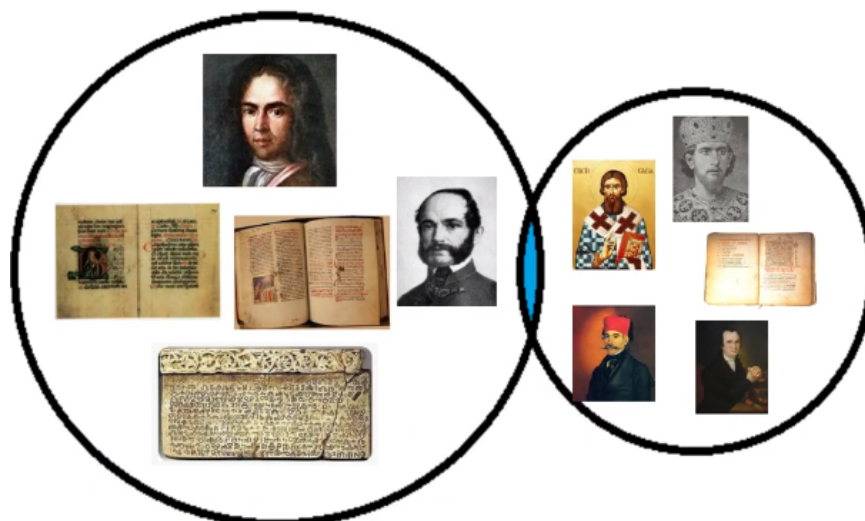
This part of the Cyrillic material has not yet been systematically studied and scholarly analyzed adequately, and the smaller part, which is solidly described and published, is often incorrectly attributed due to confusion about the name of the language, as noted by linguist Grčević, as well as the misconceptions of the early Slavic studies. By inertia, Croatian philologists often accepted the attribution that most of these letters and charters were attributed as supposedly "Serbian", and because of their focus on far more extensive Glagolitic and Latin Croatian literacy, they neglected and failed to adequately analyze and describe this small but important part of Croatian written culture. Quantitatively, it is less than one per mille of Croatian pre-Renaissance written culture, although it is not insignificant for the study of historical changes in morphology and graphematics. This is only recently, but slowly and insufficiently, beginning to be rectified.



In the case of English, there is a huge common corpus of American and British English, Beowulf, Piers Ploughman, texts from Chancery, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Locke, Gibbon, Hume, Byron, Dickens, Melville, Keats, Whitman, Lawrence, Faulkner, ...



In the case of Serbian, Saint Sava, Dušan's Code, Stefan Lazarević, Dositej Obradović, Vuk Karadžić, and Croatian, Baška Tablet, Hrvojev's Missal, Vatican Croatian Prayer Book, Ivan Gundulić, Ivan Mažuranić you have two language corpora that do not intersect or mix. They differ by almost one hundred percent, which is not the case with the British and American variants of the English language.



There is no commonality in communication between Croatian and Serbian until recently. Not in fiction, not in dictionaries, not in schooling. As the Serbian language does not include Bartol Kašić, Ivan Belostenec, Ivan Mažuranić, Ante Kovačić, Miroslav Krleža. According to the same principle, the Croatian corps does not include Laza Lazarević, Laza Kostić, Stojan Novaković, Miloš Crnjanski. Here, the American and British versions of the English language receive a positive mark according to the third criterion, while Croatian and Serbian receive a negative mark.

	Croatian	Serbian	American English	British English	Hindi	Urdu
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavonian, Slaveno-Serbian	Ei ↑ sh		?	?
the same name					?	
communication intelligibility						✓
the same written corpus						
identity and cultural unity						
standardization at the same place and in the same time						



For Hindi and Urdu there are several common names in the pre-standard period among notable speakers, and several names - Hindavi, Hindustani, Khariboli among Indian Muslim and Hindu authors, but these writings are still not possible with certainty - unlike Croatian and Serbian – to subsequently inscribe in the literary corpus of either Hindi or Urdu (except in writing), and we will put a question mark there since Urdu and Hindi older written corpus is not undoubtedly clearly canonized by the prescriptions of Western or European philology.

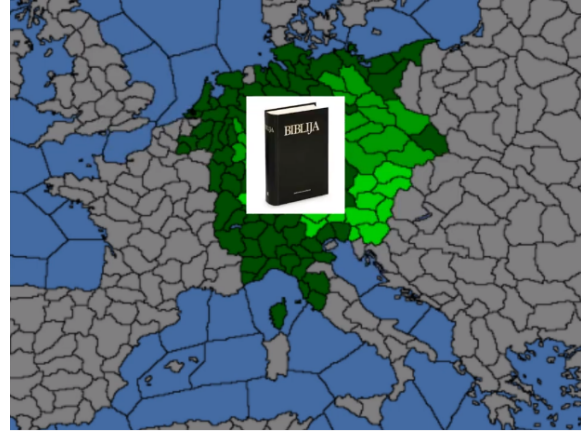
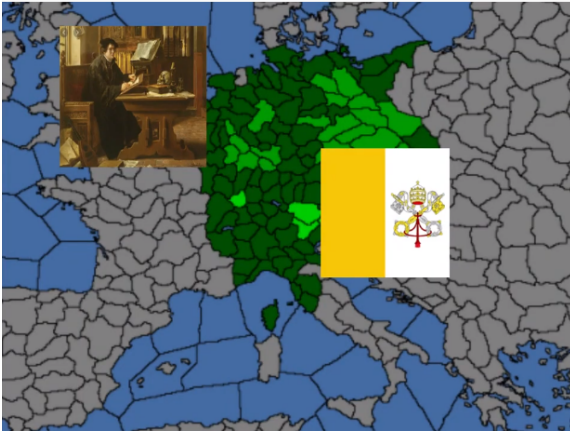
FOURTH CRITERION - CULTURAL UNITY

Fourth, to have a polycentric language, you must have the same linguistic-cultural community of speakers who not only understand “other” groups, but form a cultural-historical unity with them. Croatian speakers do not belong to the same ethnic, cultural and historical language community as Serbs and Bosniaks. Neither Serbs nor Bosniaks do with “others”. Let us remember the division of the Roman Empire in the fourth century, the church schism in the 11th century, and the fact that Serbs and Croats on both sides of the river Drina never lived in a common state before 1918 and there were no major cultural contacts until the 19th century. Therefore, Croatian and Serbian receive a negative mark for this criterion.



On the other hand, if we know the cultural history of the United States and Great Britain, we can give their language a positive mark for this criterion. It would be similar for the German language in Austria and Germany, for which there is a legacy of living together in the Holy Roman Empire and due to the common Luther translation of the Bible. The Bible in German is part of the Catholic and Protestant common literary-linguistic history. Among the Slovenes, Primož Turbar, who recognized the uniqueness of the Croatian language, translated the Bible into Slovene in the 16th century, and that became the basis of the Slovene literary language.





The father of Croatian philology, Bartol Kašić, had begun translating the New Testament into Croatian in the Štokavian language of Ragusan variety in 1625, and at the age of 1626 he was ordered to translate the entire Bible. In 1636, the complete translation was submitted to Rome for approval, but difficulties arose because one ideological group was against the translation into the vernacular. Finally, translation was forbidden ("*non est expediens ut imprimatur*"). Given the fact that translations of the Holy Scriptures into the vernacular in many nations played a crucial role in directing linguistic standardization, the ban on Kašić's translation of the Bible caused great damage to the later development of the Croatian literary language. According to the preserved manuscripts and with detailed expert comments, this translation was published in 2000.

Kašić: Rukopis prijevoda Biblije, 1622. – 1637.

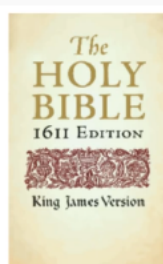
Rukopis prijevoda Biblije

Pjesma treća: Zaručnicu dovode zaručniku B.

Kašić, Pjesan od pjesni Salamunovijeh Prijepis: J. Derossi) Pjesma 4, 1-16 Zaručnik

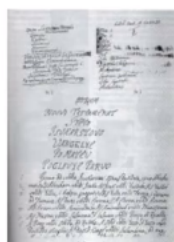
Koliko si lijepa, prijateljice moja, koliko si lijepa!
Oči tvoje od golubica bez onega što se unutarne taji.
Vlasi tvoji kakono stada od koza, koje su uzišle s gore Galaade. Zubi tvoji
kakono stada od ostriježenijeh koje su uzišle iz okupala sve sa dvojemi :plodijemi; i
neplodna nije meju njimi.
Kakono tračac čerljeni usne tvoje: i besjeden'je tvoje slatko.
Kakono razlomak od šipka, tako lica tvoja, bez onega što se unutarne taji.
Kakono turan Davidov vrat tvoj, koji je sazdan s branami: tisuće štita vise s njega,
sve oružje od jacijeh.
Dvi dojke tvoje kakono dva šteneta od košute, blizanca koja se pasu u lizerijeh.
Dokle sviće dan i prignu se sjena, pojci ću na goru od mire i na glavicu od tamijana.
Sva si lijepa, prijateljice moja, i ockvarnosti nije u tebi.
Dođi s Libana, vjerenico moja, dođi s Libana, dođi: biti ćeš moja okrunjena s verha
od Amana i s verha od Sanira i Hermona, s ložišta od lava, s gora od risova.

We can consider the following figures: the most prominent English translation of the Bible, the King James version, or the Authorized Version, which strongly influenced the form of the English language, was published in 1611, just two decades before Kašić's translation. This treasury of the English language has 12,143 different words (originally, the Bible has 8,674 different Hebrew words, and 5,623 Greek words). However, Kašić's translation (which has not been preserved in its entirety because parts of the Old Testament are missing) numbers about 20 000 different words - which is more than the English authorized version, as well as the original. All this shows us the linguistic inventiveness and creative exuberance of the father of Croatian linguistics. Kašić's most published work is the Roman Ritual, which was used in various editions until the 19th century in all Croatian dioceses and archdioceses except Zagreb, and since then it has remained the official liturgical book until the 1929. Thus, this first translation of rituals into one living language certainly strongly contributed to the affirmation of the Croatian literary language.



1611, 12,143

originally 8,674 Hebrew and 5,623 Greek



1633, 20,000

During the discussion in 1987 profesor Vladimir Horvat handed Kašić's Roman Ritual to Serbian linguist Miroslav Pantić, and Pantić replied, "Well, that is actually today's Croatian literary language, so what did you Croats get from Vuk Karadžich then?", Horvat replied "Thank you, Croats did not receive anything from Vuk. But in 1987 I proved that Vuk wrote his Serbian dictionary with the help of Croatian dictionaries lent to him by Jernej Kopitar. Kopitar received those dictionaries from the Bishop of Zagreb Maximilian Vrhovac".



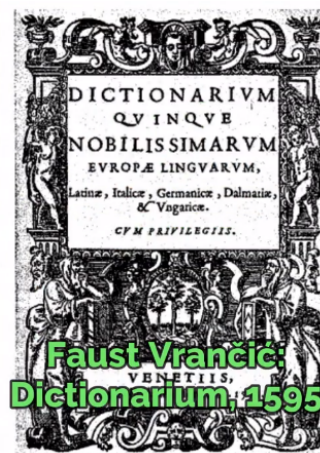
**Vladimir Horvat
(1935 - 2019)**

**Miroslav Pantić
(1926 - 2011)**

Let's look at Hindi and Urdu languages. Hindi and Urdu, as standard languages, are practically the same at the genetic and typological level, but completely different at the cultural-identity level. The difference at the cultural-identity level is determined by religion, and especially by the criteria of different traditions in written culture and literature. As for the literary tradition, Urdu is more based on Islamic and Persian literary traditions, and Hindi on Sanskrit and Hindu literary traditions. Given these great differences in cultural identity community, here Hindi and Urdu receive a negative mark regarding their identity.

FIFTH CRITERION - STANDARDIZATION AT THE SAME PLACE AND AT THE SAME TIME

Fifth, in order to have a polycentric language, language must essentially be standardized in the same place and at the same time. An extensive literary corpus of the future Croatian standard language appeared in the 16th century, Faust Vrančić's dictionary was printed in 1595, and systematic standardization began with Bartol Kašić's grammar from 1604, Kašić's Roman Ritual from 1640, Jakov Mikalja's dictionary from 1649, and, implicitly, with religious texts from Bosnia, Ragusa and southern Croatia (for example Matija Divković, as well as various lectionaries and evangels from Dalmatia). In the 18th century the corpus of the written word expanded and covered the entire northern Croatian territory, including Slavonia, and the so-called circle of Buda Franciscans in Bačka and southern Hungary, with the permeation and influence on the three northwestern Croatian counties, and completed in the 19th century.





Hrvatska
kriješnica

Literature from the 17th century

Petar Zrinski
Fran Krsto Katarina Zrinska Frankopan
Ivan Gundulić (Mačica)
18th century

literature of Zrinsko - Frankopanski cultural circle

*Suze sina razmetnoga
Dubravka
Osman*

Ivan Mažuranić has in the 19th century written missing chapters of **Osman** written in the 17th century



Linguistics (the 18th century) Hrvatski
Kvijenica

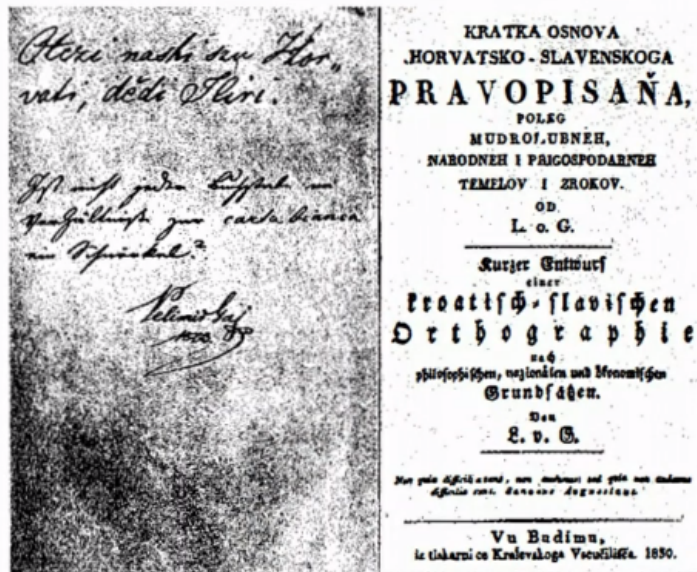
Linguistics activities.
New dictionaries and grammars.
Ardelio della Bella, Francesco Maria
Appendini and Matija Antun Reljković,



Matija Antun Reljković

In 1830 Ljudevit Gaj in his work "A brief basis of Croatian-Slavonian spelling" founded modern Croatian script, the only addition being one letter in the script adjusted by Đuro Daničić in 1892.

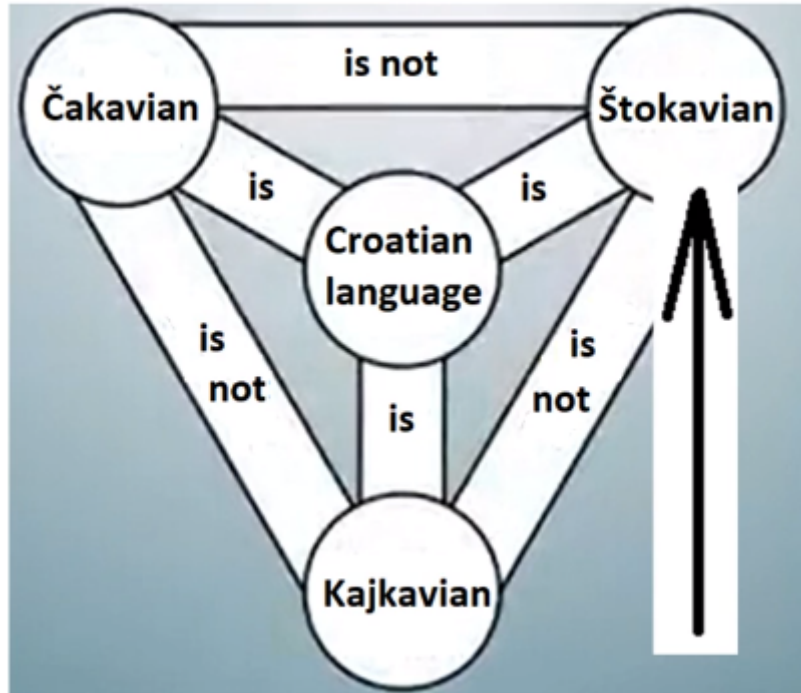




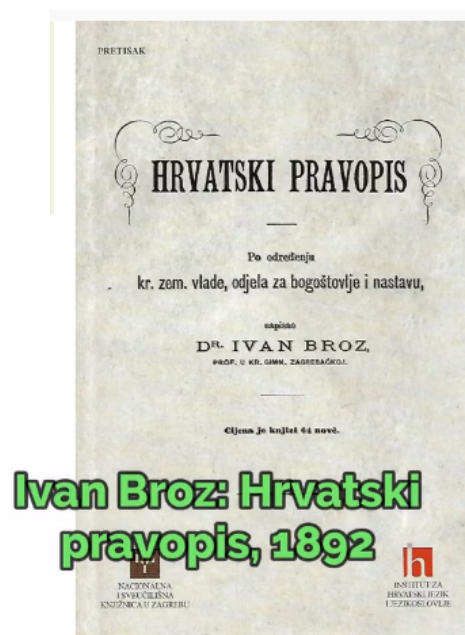
Ljudevit Gaj, *Kratka osnova hrvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisanja*, 1830.

In 1832 Kajkavian Ivan Derkos published his work on Latin language "*The spirit of the fatherland over his sleeping sons ...*", which made an effort to choose Štokavian dialect for the basis for modern Croatian standard language, since Kajkavians in North Croatia and Čakavians and Štokavians in other parts of Croatia are united by mystic love, this love was since religious books from Dalmatia were brought to Kajkavian parts of Croatia and stylised on Kajkavian dialect, as was later discovered by Croatian philologist Vatroslav Jagić.





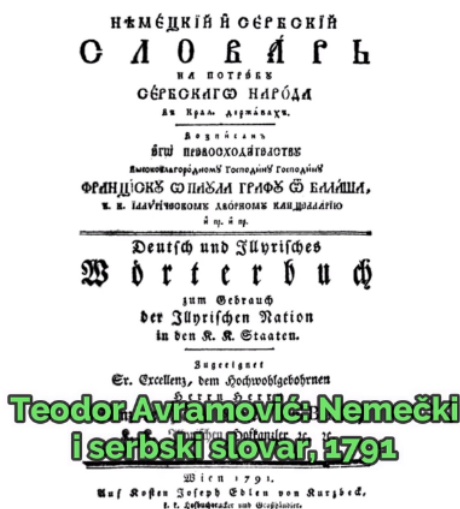
Croats in Dubrovnik were also for the Štokavian dialect as a foundation for Croatian modern standard. Let us enumerate some works, Bartol Kašić Grammar of Illyrian language from 1604, Jakov Mikalja Treasure of the Slovin language 1649, Juraj Habelić Dictionary 1670, Ardelio Della Bella Dictionary 1728, Ivan Belostenec Dictionary 1740, Joakim Stulli Wordformation 1805, Ivan Mažuranić and Jakov Užarević German-Illyrian dictionary 1842, Bogoslav Šulek Dictionary of scientific terminology 1875, Tomislav Maretić History of Croatian orthography in Latin script 1889, Ivan Broz Croatian Orthography 1892, Tomislav Maretić Grammar and stylistics of the Croatian or Serbian literary language 1899, Tomislav Maretić Grammar of the Croatian language 1901.





Tomislav Maretić: Istorija hrvatskoga pravopisa latinskijem slovima, 1889

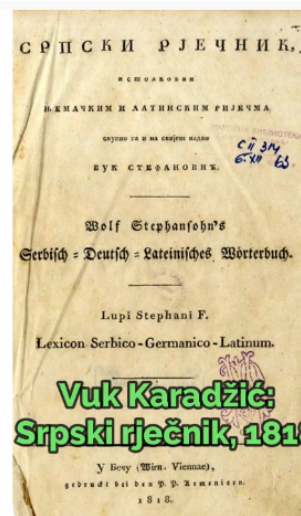
The Serbian language began standardization in the 18th century with the works of Avramović, Aleksej Vezilić and Obradović and ended in the 19th century with the writings of Vuk Karadžić and Đuro Daničić, the process being described by the Serbian philologist Paavle Yivich in "Review of the History of the Serbian Language". According to this criterion, Croatian and Serbian receive a negative mark on the issue of standardization. We can give a positive mark to the English language.



Teodor Avramović: Nemečki i serbski slovar, 1791



Vuk Karadžić: Pismenica serbskoga jezika, 1814



Vuk Karadžić: Srpski rječnik, 1818

The Indo-Pakistani pre-standard language based on the Khariboli dialect began to be standardized in the Delhi Sultanate, a process that lasted in the Mughal Empire and British India, and the names for that language were Hindi, Hindustani, Hindavi. This language

became the lingua franca for almost all of India. In that language, which is a more umbrella terminological name encompassing modern Urdu and Hindi, standardization in the 18th century for the Urdu language ended. Then the Hindi language in that tradition was standardized in the 19th century, so according to this criterion for the identity of these two languages, Urdu and Hindi receive a negative mark.

The Perso-Arabic script form of this language underwent a **standa**rdization process and further Persianization in the late Mughal period (18th century) and came to be known as Urdu, a name derived from the **Turkic** word *ordu* (army) or *orda* and is said to have arisen as the "language of the camp", or "Zaban-i-Ordu", or in the local "Lashkari Zaban".^[3] As a literary language, Urdu took shape in courtly, elite settings. Along with English, it became the first official language of **British India** in 1837.^{[4][5][6]}

Hindi as a **standa**rdized literary **register** of the **Delhi dialect** arose in the 19th century; the **Braj dialect** was the dominant literary language in the Devanagari script up until and through the nineteenth century. Efforts by Hindi movements to promote a Devanagari version of the Delhi dialect under the name of Hindi gained pace around 1880 as an effort to displace Urdu's official position.^[7]

Hindi, Hindustani, Hindavi, Dakkani

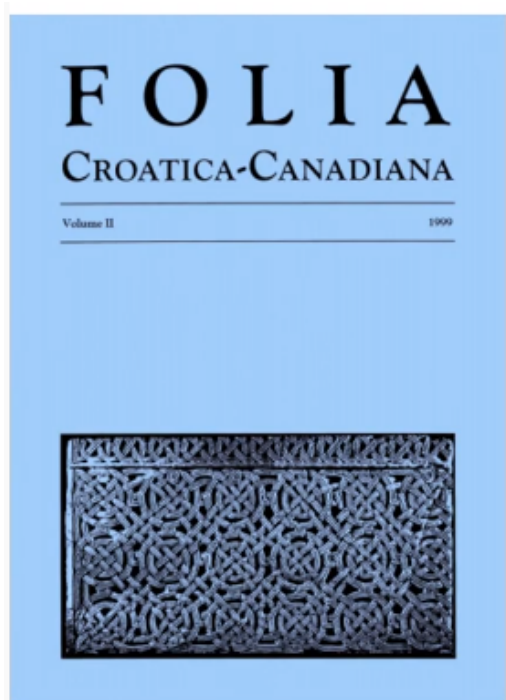
Urdu
(the 18th century) **Hindi**
(the 19th century)

CONCLUSION

So - four of the five criteria indicate that Croatian and Serbian are different languages, not variants of one language.

	Croatian	Serbian	American English	British English	Hindi	Urdu
language name in history in authentic texts of the writers in that language	Illyrian, Slovin, Croatian (Ragusan, Bosnian, Dalmatian, ...)	Serbian, Slavic, Serbo-Slavonian, Slaveno-Serbian	English		?	
the same name	✗		✓		?	
communication intelligibility	✓		✓		✓	
the same written corpus	✗		✓		?	
identity and cultural unity	✗		✓		✗	
standardization at the same place and in the same time	✗		✓		✗	

We can recommend this book in English which deals with Croatian language, and includes one article which deals with relations of Croatian with Serbian language. It is published by Croatian Studies Foundation and the Croatian Heritage Foundation, Folia Croatica Canadiana, Vinko Grubišić, Department of Germanic and Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of Waterloo, Ontario Canada.



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English language books on Croatian language and Serbian language - not elementary primers - but surveys of their historical developments are rather sparse: For Croatian, you have the 6-volumes set, "*A History of Croatian Language*", in Croatian, but with English summaries; also, there are works authored by Milan Moguš, "*A history of the Croatian language: toward common standard*", Miro Kačić, "*Croatian and Serbian Delusions and Distortions*", as well as Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts edition, "*Croatia and Europe*". So far three volumes have appeared in English translation, "*Croatia in the Early Middle Ages*", "*Croatia in the late middle ages and the renaissance*", "*Croatia in the Baroque Period and the Age of Enlightenment*".

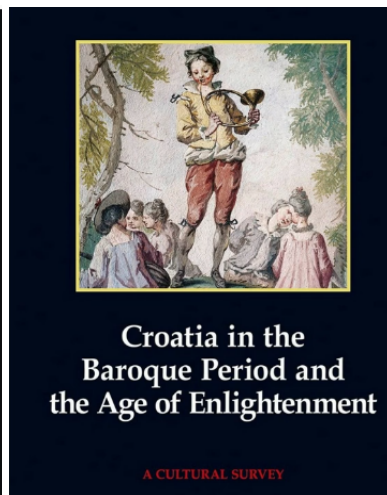
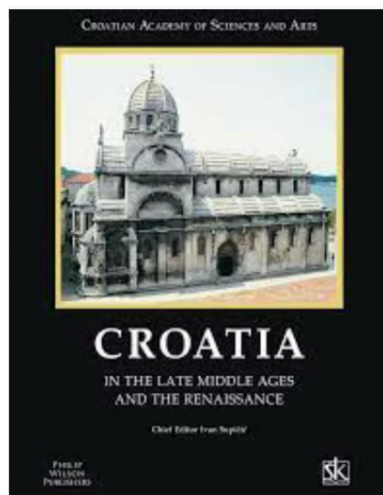
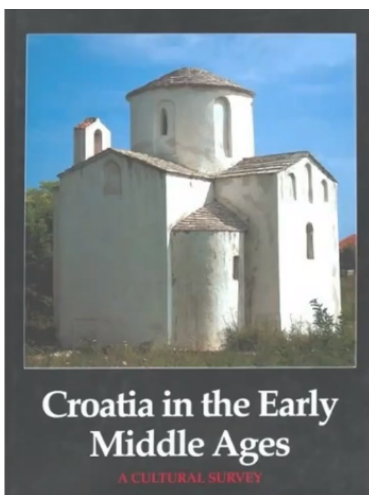




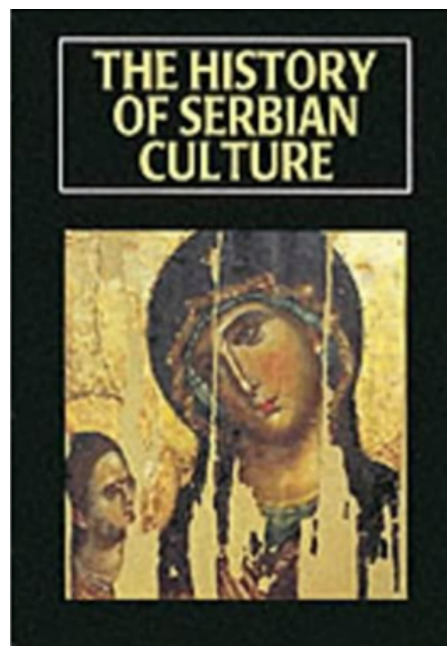
<http://www.croatia.hr/>



<https://www.info.hazu.hr/odbori/odbor-projekta-hrvatska-i-europa/>



Serbian language history is presented in the following book of Serbian cultural heritage, "The history of Serbian culture".



Let's conclude this video. One of the most respected Croatian linguists and intellectuals, Radoslav Katičić, observed that in 1991 over 80 percent of Muslims in Bosnia stated that their language was Bosnian, in a situation when they knew that their government would like them to choose Serbo-Croatian as their language, and for Katičić this is the clear evidence that their language exists. But for Croats, the acceptable name for the language of Bosniaks is Bosniak language, since this language is not shared by Croats and Serbs in Bosnia as would the name Bosnian have implicitly implied, due to the fact that name Bosnia is often used as the shorter name for some parts or for the whole Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosniaks, at least in some cases call their literature Bosniak literature.



Radoslav Katičić
HRVATSKI JEZIK
sk skolska knjiga

matica.hr/vijesti/427/srpski-jezik-nije-stokavski-1754/

Vijest: 427
Naslovnik, Razgovor
Radoslav Katičić, jezikoslovac:
Srpski jezik nije štokavski

Matica hrvatska
O Matici hrvatskoj
Članstvo
Odgaji
Oglašeni
Društva prijatelja

Čim čujem multikulti meni postane zlo / Imam dojam da su oni koji su bili najaktivniji oko Deklaracije, dakle partizni, bili usmjereni da ih Tito štiti / Postoje pobornici brude ustanovacije jezika / Sve je normalno da se za ne pale kao obje riječi, ali ako treba neću govoriti kao obje riječi onda su neki ogovrdno opiru // Melankolici pitaju što, i Bugar, i Rusi, pa nisu

engl. Bosnian/Bosniak, hr. bosanski/bošnjački

Što mislite o različitosti hrvatskoga u odnosu na bosanski i o pravu da svatko svoj jezik zove svojim imenom?

To pravo je logično i neosporno kada se radi o bosanskome, koji radije zovem bošnjačkim jer to nije jezik svih ljudi u Bosni nego jezik muslimana Bošnjaka. Kada sam u vrijeme Domovinskoga rata saznao da je u popisu 1991. preko 80 posto Muslimana u Bosni izjavilo da im je jezik bosanski, iako su znali da vlast očekuje da kažu srpskohrvatski, što o tome što ima govoriti. To je dokaz da taj jezik postoji.

engl. Serbo-Croatian, Serbian and Bartol Kašić

Otko zato Kašić, čak i u jezikoslovnim krugovima, nije bio uvećavan i cijenjen?

Postavljane pitanje na koje bih morao odgovoriti jednim predavanjem pa ću grubo pojednostavniti i reći ovako: Nevoja z Kašićem je u tome da ako dolita postoji srpskohrvatski jezik onda je gramatika Bartula Kašića, istovrsta, prva gramatika toga jezika. Točka. To ni jedan Srbin ne može podnijeti. Zbog čega, li nema srpskohrvatskoga jezika i onda Kašić nije Srbin napisao prvu gramatiku, li, ako srpskohrvatski jezik mora postojati, onda Kašić treba zaboraviti. To je jednostavno i logično. Grubo pojednostavljujem za razumijevanje nekoga razgovora, ali to je jezgra stvari.

Bosnian / Bosniak

Što mislite o različitosti hrvatskoga u odnosu na bosanski i o pravu da svatko svoj jezik zove svojim imenom?

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bosanski / bošnjački

Croats, Bosniaks and Serbs



Urednik Edicije: Irfan Horozović

Izvršni urednik Edicije: prof. dr. Sanjin Kodrić

Urednik: Edin Mulać

Redakcioni odbor: prof. dr. Alena Čatović, prof. dr. Muhidin Džanko, prof. dr. Dijana Hadžizukić, Hadžem Hajdarević, prof. dr. Sead Šemsović i prof. dr. Sanjin Kodrić

Sekretar Redakcionog odbora: Edin Mulać

Dosad objavljeno:



History of Bosniak Literature

History of Bosniak Literature – A Drawn

Author(s): Enes Duraković

Subject(s): Literary Texts

Published by: Univerzitet u Sarajevu

Yugoslav nationalists such as Snježana Kordić, state that Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin is the same language, and that name for that language should be Serbo Croatian, while some Yugoslav nationalists and ideological Serbo-Croatists prefer the name Nashki, which means ours in English. If we would assume that Serbo Croatian language exists, then the first grammar of that supposedly existing language would be Bartol Kačić's grammar. But since he was a Catholic, Jesuit and Čakavian, that would be something not a

single Serb could accept, as Radoslav Katičić stated, for this issue for Serbs is beyond politics and implies they are essentially a partial heirs to the Croatian language-cultural tradition, which is emotionally completely unacceptable.

This is the same language



Čakavian and Jesuit

Očito zato Kašić, čak i u jezikoslovnim krugovima, nije bio uvažavan i cijenjen?

Postavljate pitanja na koja bih morao odgovoriti jednim predavanjem pa ću grubo pojednostavniti i reći ovako: Nevolja s Kašićem je u tome da ako doista postoji srpskohrvatski jezik onda je gramatika Bartula Kašića, isusovca, prva gramatika toga jezika. Točka. To ni jedan Srbin ne može podnijeti! Zaključak, ili nema srpskohrvatskoga jezika i onda Kašić nije Srbima napisao prvu gramatiku, ili, ako srpskohrvatski jezik mora postojati, onda Kašića treba zaboraviti. To je jednostavno i logično. Grubo pojednostavljujem za razumijevanje našega razgovora, ali to je jezgra stvari.

Beyond politics



Matica hrvatska

O Matici hrvatskoj
Članstvo
Odjeli
Ogranci
Društva prijatelja i

Vijenac 427

Naslovnica, Razgovor

Radoslav Katičić, jezikoslovac

Srpski jezik nije štokavski

Čim čujem multikulti meni postane zlo / Imam dojam da su ovi koji su bili najaktivniji oko Deklaracije, dakle partijci, bili uvjereni da ih Tito štiti / Postoje pobornici bivše unitarizacije jezika / Svima je normalno da se za te piše kao dvije riječi, ali ako treba ne ću pisati kao dvije riječi onda su neki ogorčeno opiru / I Makedonci pitaju što, i Bugari, i Rusi, pa nisu

For Serbs confrontation with Kačić is more than politics









Zašto u nas tzv. lijevi zaziru od tradicije? Oni bi bili avangardni, sve bi rušili.

Ta pitanja zadiru duboko u psihologiju pojedinca, to jako ovisi od osobnog opredjeljenja. Pitali ste me zašto se o Kačiću nije govorilo, pa evo objašnjenja, to je primjer kako je tradicija hrvatske gramatike bila zanemarena iz sasvim konkretnih razloga.

Političkih?

Da Srbin ne može čuti kako mu je isusovac napisao prvu gramatiku, to je puno dublje od politike.

Also, Kačić had written in language that Serbs can nowadays understand, as compared to the older Serbian literature. Because this fact is something both incontrovertible and unimaginable for the Serbian cultural identity, as we have also stated, Kačić's role as the first and central figure for all Štokavian-based languages linguistic description must be dismissed, forgotten or marginalized and Vuk Karadžić's position uncritically elevated.

UNDERSTANDABLE WITH MODERN STANDARDS		NOT-UNDERSTANDABLE SERBIAN WITH MODERN STANDARDS	
CROATIAN	 1846	SERBIAN	 1818
	 1756		<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Russian redaction of Old Church Slavonic</div> <div style="text-align: center;"> 1790</div> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Slaveno Serbian</div> </div>
	 1621		
	 1501		
	 1380 - 1400		<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic</div> <div style="text-align: center;"> 1349</div> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Saint Sava</div> </div>

So, for Serbian ideologues and cultural community- Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin must not exist; all who speak Štokavian must be ethnically Serbs, and that would exclude only Croats who speak Čakavian and Kajkavian. Otherwise, the entire Serbian self-image would undergo cultural identity crisis, because, to put it extremely- Serbian language is just a late and simplified offshoot of the Croatian language. Of course, such a position would cause the entire edifice of the Greater Serbian ideology to collapse.

This modern Neo-Štokavian based languages are generally mutually intelligible because they are founded upon similar, although slightly different Neo-Štokavian dialects, with common elementary vocabulary and grammar. But in the case of Croatian, its Western Neo-Štokavian axis constantly interferes with other Croatian dialects, namely Čakavian and Kajkavian; while in the case of Serbian, its Eastern Štokavian basis is under the influence of the Torlak dialect.

Moreover, Croatian and Serbian are still intelligible due to many factors, one of them the Serbo-Croatian language policy which had been, more than 70 years, bringing artificially those languages closer, with the intent of fusing them finally into one language. But, this policy of Serbo-Croatism, as German Slavist Leopold Auburger has called it, failed because of the strong individuality and ethnic-cultural identities of both languages.

The mutual intelligibility argument fails because of both reductionism and impossibility of quantification: a language is more than understanding of the other similar languages interlocutors speaking, since individuality of a language is presented in all functional styles (administrative, scientific, publicistic and literary) as well as in grammatical features from morphology to syntax and more, and especially scientific, technical, religious and civilizational terminology.



Mutual intelligibility is not an either-or characteristic and it varies over time, and in the case of Croatian and Serbian languages it is generally limited mostly to the area of everyday, colloquial speech and it decreases with the levels of specialization and intellectualization of the vocabulary, especially in the cases where Croatian follows its fundamental characteristic, purism, which prefers Croatian-Slavic rooted neologisms over Latin-derived internationalist vocabulary in all areas of culture and civilization. Also, intelligibility varies over the period of

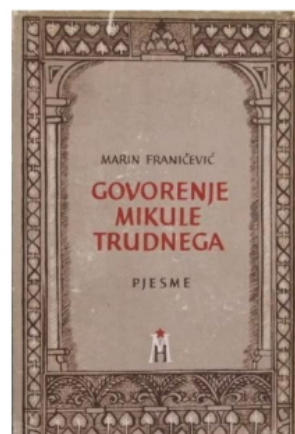
time and education, even during a life-time of an individual, and is not strictly quantifiable. Having that in mind, we will transform this green mark with the orange mark to indicate this state of play, especially since small differences in languages are more dangerous than the large differences.



To understand what Kajakvian, Štokavian and Čakavian mean to the Croatian language, it is best to think about Greek trinity of Ionic, Doric and Attic, where history was written in younger Ionic and also European literature, Herodotus' works being written in Ionic, choral lyric poetry written in Doric, and tragedy in Attic. The Old Testament was translated into koine Greek, the universally accepted form of Greek based on the Attic that came into existence after Alexander the Great's conquests. That stylized Greek language, dominant in the Hellenistic world, was the language the New Testament had been written in. Every one of these Greek dialects has great influence and value, comparable to the Croatian literature in all dialects, for example this two Kajkavian and Čakavian masterpieces written in the 20th century.

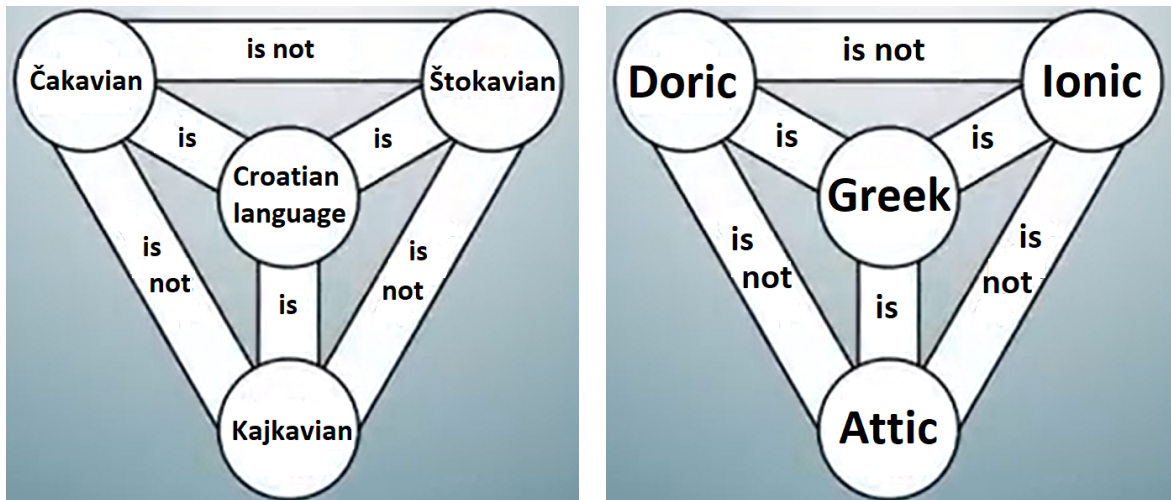


Miroslav Krleža:
Balade Petrice Kerempuha,
the 20th century, stylized
Kajkavian-based
poems book

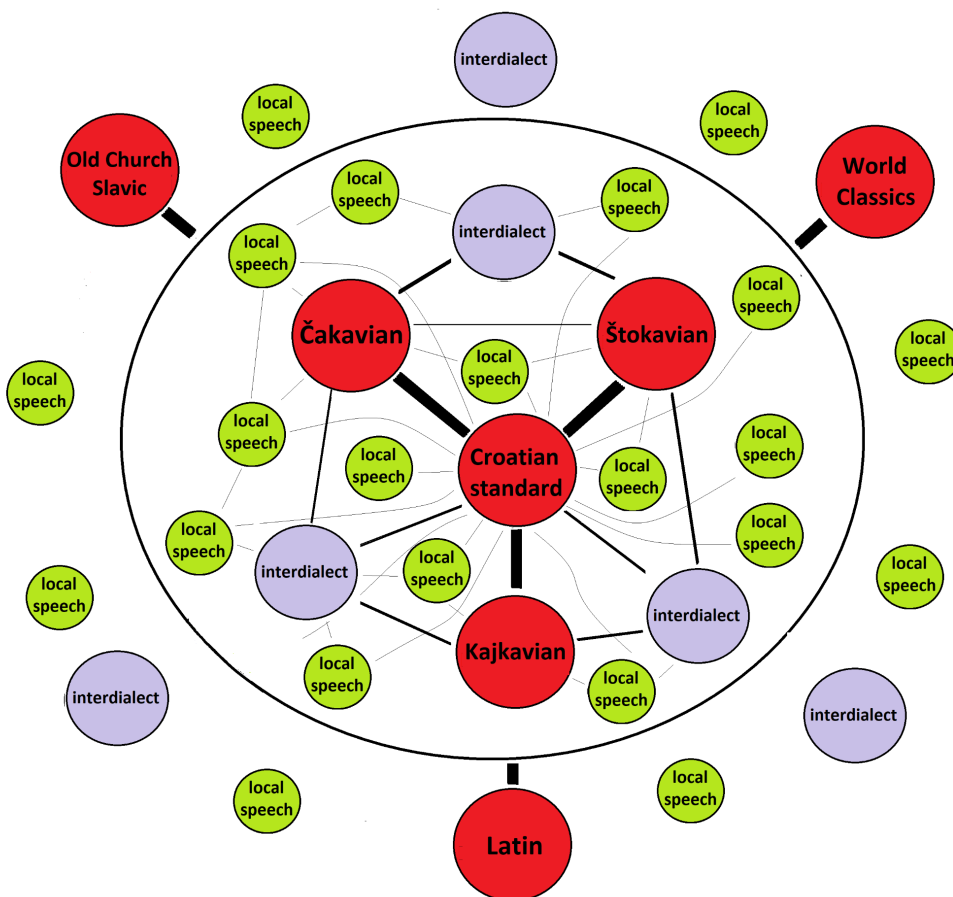


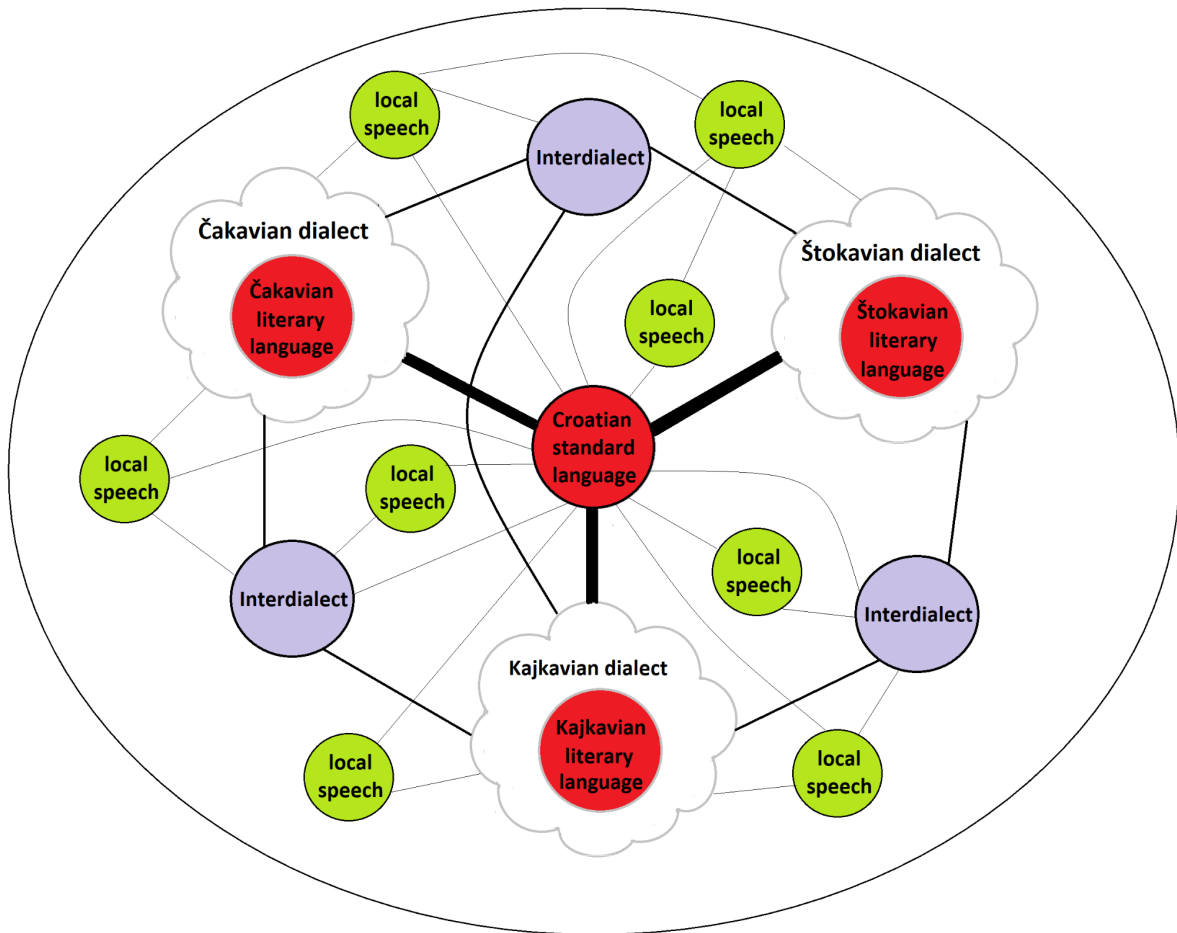
Marin Franičević: Govorenje
Mikule Trudnega, the 20th,
stylized Čakavian-based
poems book

Croatian dialectal trinity is therefore more similar to Greek dialectal trinity, in comparison to dialect systems in other European languages. The difference in comparison with Greek trinity is that parts of the Croatian trinity are not related to some specific literary genres.



What most ordinary people, and even- rather surprisingly- linguists fail to comprehend is the following: a language can be studied as a system of dialects and as a standard language. These are two different things. Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian and Montenegrin differ as systems of dialects, as has been shown elsewhere.





The point is that they evidently differ also as standard languages. While they are all based on varieties of Neo-Štokavian - and we have seen, these are close, but different variants of Neo-Štokavian, either Western- or Eastern-derived, which is reflected in phonology, morphology, vocabulary and syntax- this basis doesn't describe any of these languages as the codified structure. This is a dialectal basis, or close bases, comprising elementary grammar and vocabulary. So, for Neo-Štokavian based languages the foundation, which gives the elementary morphosyntactic basis and vocabulary is almost the same or very similar. But the superstructure of codified morphology, syntax, lexicon, word-formation, phraseology, stylistics and semantics evidently differs, due to various cultural histories and ethnically based dialectal interferences which resulted in separate, individualized literary and standard languages.

Standard languages may be compared to houses built upon similar, or even completely the same type of basis- which, by the way, is not the case. One of the two or three houses may be one-floored, other two-floored, third one floored with the attic etc. There three, or any other number of houses, may have 6, 10 or 16 windows, different colors, different types of architectural solutions and different numbers or rooms, bathrooms, kitchens etc.



Croatian

Serbian

NEO-ŠTOKAVIAN NEO-ŠTOKAVIAN

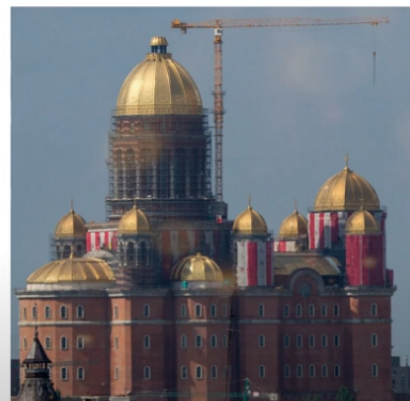


Croatian

Serbian

NEO-ŠTOKAVIAN NEO-ŠTOKAVIAN

Since one picture is worth a thousand words, we shall show two Christian cathedrals built on virtually the same areas (5,000 square meters). One is located in England and is Anglo-Catholic; the other is in Romania, and belongs to the Romanian Orthodox Church. The English Cathedral, or Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Lincoln is this: while Romanian People's Salvation Cathedral is this: The foundation, if we measure it, is virtually of the same quadrature; yet the superstructures of buildings differ evidently.

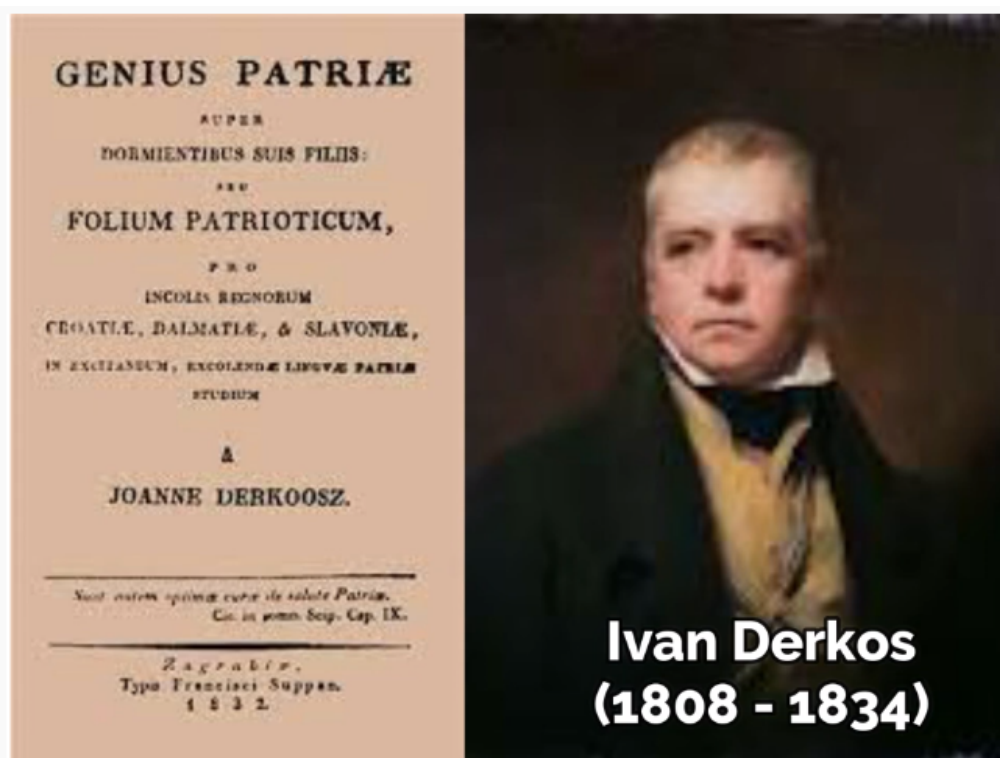


So, while the Neo-Štokavian basis may be fundamental for understanding of these languages and their mutual intelligibility- it is simply just a segment. Standard language is superstructure, and dialectal basis is a foundation, or in these cases, very similar foundations. And superstructures have a very visible individualities and identities, which includes different names for Serbian and Croatian, different written corpora, and different standardization histories.

Based on our criteria Hindi and Urdu are also different languages, and American and English languages are the same language based on all criteria.

This was the first video regarding Croatian and Serbian language in English which shows basic theory and arguments for our topic, we will prepare at least one more video as a supplement to previously told arguments and theory. Thanks for watching. Be sure to indicate your comments in the comment section, proposals or critics, which would enable us to improve our content on this issue.

This video is dedicated to Ivan Derkos.



SOURCES

The content of this video is in accordance with the descriptions of the history of the Croatian language, and to a lesser extent of other, related languages, such as those found in the works of philologists, linguists and Slavicists Krunoslav Krstić, Radoslav Katičić, Dalibor Brozović, Stjepan Babić, Josip Lisac, Dragica Malić, Branka Tafra, Dubravka Sesar, Mario Grčević, Leopold Auburger and Barbara Oczkova.

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